The Outlook

MARCH 8, 1916

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PATRIOTISM

A nation is made great, not by its fruitful acres, but by the men who cultivate them; not by its great forests, but by the men who use them; not by its mines, but by the men who work in them; not by its railways, but by the men who build and run them. America was a great land when Columbus discovered it; Americans have made of it a great Nation.

In 1776 our fathers had a vision of a new Nation "conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." Without an army they fought the greatest of existing world empires that they might realize this vision. A third of a century later, without a navy they fought the greatest navy in the world that they might win for their Nation the freedom of the seas. Half a century later they fought through an unparalleled Civil War that they might establish for all time on this continent the inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. A third of a century later they fought to emancipate an oppressed neighbor, and, victory won, gave back Cuba to the Cubans, sent an army of schoolmasters to educate for liberty the Filipinos, asked no war indemnity from their vanquished enemy, but paid him liberally for his property. Meanwhile they offered land freely to any farmer who would live upon and cultivate it, opened to foreign immigrants on equal terms the door of industrial opportunity, shared with them political equality, and provided by universal taxation for universal education.

The cynic who can see in this history only a theme for his egotistical satire is no true American, whatever his parentage, whatever his birthplace. He who looks with pride upon this history which his fathers have written by their heroic deeds, who accepts with gratitude the inheritance which they have bequeathed to him, and who highly resolves to preserve this inheritance unimpaired and to pass it on to his descendants enlarged and enriched, is a true American, be his birthplace or his parentage what it may.

LYMAN ABBOTT.

THE WEEK

THE STORY OF THE WAR: THE ATTACK ON VERDUN

For nine days, up to March 1, the German forces carried on their assault against the fortified positions at and near the city of Verdun, and at that date the final result was still in doubt. Unless the reports from Paris and Berlin exaggerate wildly, this is the fiercest and largest movement made by either side on the battle-front in France and Belgium since that line was established; in numbers, in amount of ammunition expended, and in carnage on both sides it is declared to be more extensive and more important than the great French drive in the Champagne district. Verdun has been considered almost impregnable. It must be understood that, in the nature of the present warfare, it is not a city itself, nor even forts in the old sense, but the great network of far-extending and largely concealed fortified positions which make one given part of the battle-line strong. At Verdun, as one writer has expressed it, there have been constructed such "a network of fortifications, such a maze of concealed gun emplacements and covered roads and subterranean passageways, that every approach can be commanded by artillery, and troops could spring from the earth at any point where they are wanted."

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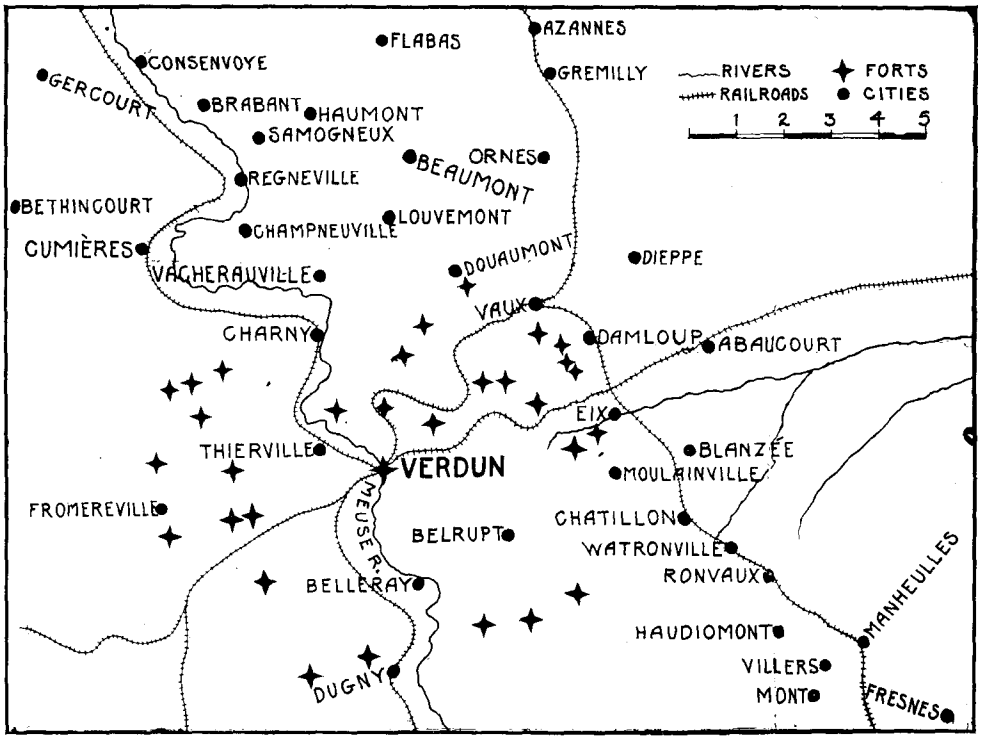
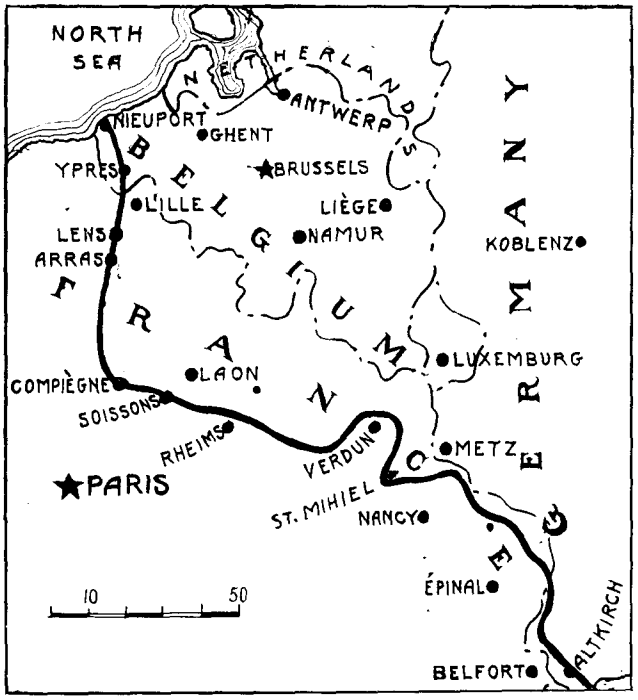


VERDUN AND ITS VICINITY



THE WESTERN BATTLE FRONT FROM NIEUPORT TO BELFORT

The upper map shows the area around Verdun which the Germans at the present time are fiercely attacking and the French are desperately defending. The map adjoining is that of the whole western front, and shows the position of the important cities. The heavy line indicates the firing line between the two forces. See "The Story of the War" in this issue for an account of the fighting about Verdun.

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It may be that the Germans knew that Verdun is not as strong as reported, and hence chose it as the object of their offensive; or the reason may be to reduce the notable salient Verdun makes into the German lines.

Against this formidable position the German armies under the Crown Prince have driven their blows one after another with slight intervals for reinforcements and preparation between the blows. One French account says that as many as seven hundred and fifty thousand German soldiers have been employed in this movement. This is probably an exaggeration: but even if the number is half of this, the violence of the assault can be imagined.

What had been accomplished up to March 1 by this German attack? A glance at the accompanying maps will show both Verdun's relation to the general battle-line and the nature of the outlying territory about the central fortress and city. The first assault was from the north, and by Saturday of last week a considerable gain had been made by the Germans. The capture of Beaumont and of the east-and-west line on which it stands made it necessary for the French to abandon the peninsula made by the great curve of the river Meuse as no longer tenable and to draw back generally on an east-and-west line south of that peninsula. Then came the news of the capture of Fort Douaumont by the Germans. This fortification stands at the northeast corner of the outward line of defenses before Verdun, and is about four miles distant from the city. Its capture was in itself a brilliant feat of arms, as the advance to it was over exposed ground. The slaughter of the Germans at this point seems to have been enormous. Yet, when the German forces entered into Fort Douaumont, they found it dismantled and of little use to them, except as any other part of the line might be. Counter-assaults were pushed by the French, and at one time the French claimed that the German position at Douaumont was nearly surrounded as a result of these attacks.

Then followed a comparative lull in the German attack from the north; the defense made by the French had been wonderfully determined, and it remains to be seen whether the slacking of the northern attack was because the Germans were worn out and had fought to a standstill, or whether, as some observers believe, it was for the bringing up of heavy artillery to this point to attack the inner fortifications around Verdun. At all events, the German effort was transferred to the eastward, and by March 1 a long line of German forces stretched southward on a line running east of the Verdun position. Here they occupied several small towns between Dieppe and Manheulles (see map) and came close to Fresnes, which is both an important center of highways and a railway post. Apparently Verdun is, as we write, in danger of a strong attack from both the east and the north. The official Berlin account says that nearly seventeen thousand prisoners have been taken by the Germans. No trustworthy figures are available as we write as regards the total losses on either side.

Even if the position at Verdun should be occupied by the Germans, it should be remembered that the essential thing for either army in this war, if a decisive result is to be obtained in the large field of action, is not to drive back the enemy's lines for two or three or five miles, but to smash through those lines and thus to turn the enemy's flank, divide his forces, and then attempt the secondary task of beating them in detail. Not forts, nor even lines of trenches, but armies themselves must be destroyed or broken up in order to secure by either combatant a conclusive victory in either one of the great battle areas in this war.

SUBMARINES AND ARMED SHIPS

The first day of March was the date fixed by Germany and Austria for putting into effect their threat to attack without warning merchant ships carrying armament. Any deed of this kind will make the present situation as between the United States and those Powers acute and critical. It is true that Germany has announced that it will keep its former pledge not to attack by submarine unoffending liners without warning, but as it points out at the same time that it holds that this never did apply to armed merchantmen, there is little or no comfort in the assurance.

The most definite thing in the week's discussion was Germany's memorandum handed to Secretary Lansing by the German Ambassador. What purports to be the official text was published; neither Secretary nor Ambassador would either confirm or deny this. The memorandum, as published, asserts that the presence of armament on board a merchantman creates the presumption that the vessel intends to offer resistance—a monstrous pre-

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sumption, not for an instant to be entertained unless the well-established and heretofore universally recognized right of vessels to carry arms for defense be abandoned. Great stress is laid in the memorandum on the alleged secret orders of the British Government. It says:

The Imperial Government issued its new orders to the German naval commanders after having seen by the secret orders of the British Admiralty that the armament of British merchantmen is to be used for the purpose of attack, and that the ships are not merely peaceful traders "armed only for defense." British merchantmen have furthermore on several occasions attacked German or Austro-Hungarian submarines.

Copies of documents going to prove the existence of these orders have been sent, the German Foreign Office says, to our Government, but have not been received as we write; allegations have been made that our diplomatic mail pouch with these documents has been detained by Great Britain, but the report has been denied. In the opinion of some international lawyers, there would be justification for a belligerent merchantman's attack upon a German submarine, since German submarines have by their acts forfeited their rights as lawful war craft.

The one encouraging statement in the memorandum is that no vessels will be attacked without warning unless the fact of armament is "proved." But how or when or where the proof is to be made is not stated. In this question of proof and in the impossibility of showing that a gun is meant for offense instead of defense lie some of the greatest dangers of the position.

Elsewhere we print President Wilson's clear and forceful letter to Senator Stone, and with it a fine utterance by Representative Glass. On Wednesday of last week was published the President's letter to Mr. Pou, the acting chairman of the Rules Committee of the House of Representatives, urging "an early vote upon the resolutions with regard to travel on armed merchantmen, which have recently been so much talked about, in order that there may be afforded an opportunity for full public discussion and action upon them, and that all doubts and conjectures may be swept away and our foreign relations once more cleared of damaging misunderstandings."

Meanwhile the sinking of the fine new passenger ship Maloja, of the famous Peninsular and Oriental Line, between Dover and Folkestone, with a loss of about one hundred and fifty of crew and passengers, may or may not have a bearing on the submarine question. One of her officers declares that she was torpedoed, but the belief that she struck a mine is more general. No Americans are known to have been on board The loss in the Mediterranean of the Provence, with a loss of about nine hundred men, horrible as the incident is, was undoubtedly a legitimate act of war. She was in the French service as a troop ship and was probably carrying French forces to Salonika. Before the war the Provence was one of the finest ships in the Franco-American passenger service.

PATRIOTIC BOOKKEEPING

A valued contributor to the pages of The Outlook sends us in a personal letter an account of an incident of Italy's participation in the European war which so aptly illustrates the true spirit of "national preparedness" that we have asked permission of the writer, Mr. Frank Hunter Potter, to pass the letter on to our readers:

"Do you remember that last summer The Outlook published a review of "Il Trentino," etc., by Lupo della Montagna, which was the pen-name of Dr. Lancillotto Thompson, of Florence, Italy?

"Dr. Thompson was taken to Florence by his American parents forty years ago, when he was three years old, and he lived there for the rest of his life, growing up a strong idealist in his political views and a thorough Italian at heart, becoming an Italian subject when he reached manhood. The enthusiasm of his life was the recovery of the Irredenta provinces, and he worked for this ceaselessly, publishing his first pamphlet on the subject when he was nineteen, and going over to Trieste and into the Trentino to stir up insurrections against the Austrians, who ended by putting a price on his head.

"When war was declared last summer against Austria, Dr. Thompson enlisted in a regiment of volunteers, in the hope that he might at last fight for the cause for which he had worked all his life. But he was not allowed to go to the front because he was a little lame and could not march. He thereupon decided, since he could not fight for his country, to do what he could. He took over the whole bookkeeping of his regiment, going to headquarters every morning at half-past

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four, working there till nine, when he went to his own bank for the day's work, and then returning to the regiment at six o'clock and working till after eleven every night. This strain told on his health, and when he caught a fever he had not the strength to resist it, but died of it.

"The review of his book in The Outlook had given him great pleasure, and his mother has written me that almost his last conscious act on the day he died was to ask her to read it over to him again. I think that you ought to know that unconsciously you soothed the passing of a man who gave his life for his country just as truly as though he had died in the trenches or heading a charge."

The highest kind of preparedness does not depend upon powerful battle-ships or a professional army (although they have their necessary and proper place), but, as Mr. Potter truly says, upon "the readiness of every citizen to give to his country whatever he has, even if he cannot fight."

"THE EYE IN THE SKY"

Under the joint auspices of the National Special Aid Society and the Aero Club of America, a meeting was recently held in New York with the main purpose of arousing interest in a plan to get the army and navy a supply of eyes. At present both army and navy are virtually blind, or, what is practically the same, so near-sighted that they cannot see anything worth seeing. Nowadays an enemy strikes at a great distance. The only way he can be seen in time is by aeroplanes. These are the eyes of the army and the navy. It was reported at that meeting that we have twenty seaplanes for our navy and twelve aeroplanes for our army, and that altogether we ought to have five thousand aeroplanes and five thousand aviators.

This is not asking for something that is merely useful in war time. Every such aviator that is trained for military or naval service would be of value in times of peace. For example, the Post-Office is advertising for an aeroplane mail line between New Bedford and the island of Nantucket, Massachusetts. Ten thousand dollars would make it possible to run that line for six months, and demonstrate the practicability of such use of aeroplanes. This is but one instance of many ways in which money can be usefully employed for the purpose of developing aviation in this country.

Among the speakers at this meeting was the young inventor, John Hays Hammond, Jr., whose torpedo that can be directed by wireless is now in use in this war, we believe, and who has made a special study of aviation. His speech possesses special interest because he approached the subject from practical, scientific knowledge. He pointed out that in the old days, in order to get concentration of fire, it was necessary to have a number of lines of musket-bearers one behind the other, each moving up in succession and firing a volley at the enemy. So slow was the operation that it took about eight lines to accomplish the necessary results, for while one was firing the other lines were loading and moving forward. Now with rapid-fire guns only one line is needed, and that can be extended so that it will cover eight times the front that was formerly defended by the same number of musketmen. So the battle-lines have become extended. And with the extension of these battle-lines have come the use of electric signaling and new demands for transportation to cover the immense territory. Thus modern warfare has called into being an immense machine, incomparably greater than that required in the older days. And Mr. Hammond said that, "in order to give eyes to this great human machine, we must have aeroplanes with trained aviators, not by the hundreds, but by the thousands. . . . To-day the United States, if it were to be engaged in war, would stand the same chance that a blind man would have in a prize-fight."

For the purpose of getting aeroplanes a fund has been started. Of course the Nation ought to supply these instruments by taxation, but Governmental action is slow, and meantime we must have the aeroplanes. There is nothing novel about such a fund. Both the German and the French aeroplane fleets were built largely by public subscription. In February, 1912, the French people started a public subscription, which brought over six million francs ($1,200,000), and gave to France 308 aeroplanes, 62 landing stations, and 75 trained aviators. Within a little more than two years after that the French army had 1,200 aeroplanes. So in Germany. In 1912 a public subscription was started, which brought over seven million marks ($1,750,000). A similar subscription has now been started in America, the country where the aeroplane was invented. The Aero Club of America, whose headquarters are at 297 Madison Avenue, New York City, is in charge of this National Aeroplane Fund and is receiving contributions.

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The National Special Aid Society, which joined with the Aero Club in this meeting, is an organization of women which has given employment to the unemployed at home, and has sent relief to soldiers discharged from hospitals abroad; but it is now concentrating its attention on the needs of National defense. And one of its purposes is to assist the Aero Club in raising funds for the training of aviators. We hope that this fund will grow with such rapidity that it will not only add to our resources for defense, but will also impress Congress with the military importance of an adequate air fleet.

MR. GOMPERS ON NATIONAL DEFENSE

Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, at the conclusion of a six days' conference of labor leaders in Washington, issued a statement in regard to National defense of more than ordinary importance. Mr. Gompers came out emphatically, as he has done in the past, for providing our country with adequate means of defense. In his statement he clearly recognized the principle that the Nation's defense must be organized on the basis of universal obligation for service. In voicing this demand Mr. Gompers made clear the present objection of labor leaders to any development of the National Guard looking towards its use as a State police force. With this, as with the rest of Mr. Gompers's programme of defense, The Outlook is in accord.

In Mr. Gompers's own words, here is his programme of preparedness:

> We must have a preparation that means a comprehensive development of all the powers and resources of all our citizens. In Switzerland every man is a soldier—not necessarily to go to war—but he has the physical and manual training necessary to defend himself, his family, and his country. Under that system the Swiss have developed a manhood, a character, that challenges the admiration of the world. We will be satisfied with nothing less in America.
>
> We must see to it that the great mass of the farmers and the workers in industry shall be thoroughly trained and organized. We must see to it that the military and naval forces of the country are controlled in the interests of peace, of justice, of democracy, and of humanity.
>
> There must be industrial, commercial, political, social, moral, as well as military defense. Citizen soldiery must be established and extended. It must be democratically organized, officered, and controlled. We must put an end to the present wasteful and unfair administration of our military affairs.

Mr. Gompers will find few to disagree with him in his opinion that one of the chief weaknesses in our present system lies in the wasteful methods of appropriation that have been tolerated and encouraged by past Congresses. Like most of our other problems, we have thought of defense as a local rather than as a National question. For the sake of political advantage and petty commercial interests we have sacrificed both the efficiency and the economical administration of our army.

While we have been wasting our National resources by extravagant management we have also failed to draw upon the vast potential resources that exist in the upbuilding of a truly democratic system of defense.

PRESIDENT JAMES AND THE LAND GRANT COLLEGE

Concerning this problem of developing the democratic resources of the country for defense President James, of the University of Illinois, has put forward a proposition entirely in accord with the principles advocated by Mr. Gompers. The University of Illinois, it will be remembered, is supported in part by the Federal Government, under the provisions of the Morrill Act for the encouragement of agriculture, the mechanical arts, and military training. Under this act military training is obligatory upon the University; and, to judge from President James, it is a very welcome obligation. This military training is conducted under the general orders of the War Department and the personal instruction of an officer detailed for that purpose.

Many authorities have pointed out that such a land grant college as the University of Illinois ought to provide the Nation with the finest possible material for reserve officers. There is a land grant institution in every State of the Union. If the work in these institutions was fully co-ordinated under the Federal Government, it would prove of incalculable military value.

Before the House Committee on Military Affairs President James outlined his views of the necessary steps to be taken in the direction of such a reorganization of this important resource. First he asked that more officers should be detailed by the War Department for the work of supervision and instruction. Needless to say, this is a request which the War Department would be more than ready to grant if Congress would provide enough

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CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

DRAWN FOR THE OUTLOOK BY CHARLES W. VAN BLARCOM

"Who thinks that fortune cannot change her mind
Prepares a dreadful jest for all mankind.
And who stands safest? Tell me, is it he
That spreads and swells in puff'd prosperity,
Or, bless'd with little, whose preventing care
In peace provides fit arms against a war?"

—ALEXANDER POPE.

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From Simplicissimus (Munich)

SCARECROWS TO FRIGHTEN THE U BOATS

"Every vessel belonging to the Entente Powers holds four stuffed figures of Americans on board, because living figures are no longer to be secured."

HOW THE ALLIES MAY SAVE THEIR SHIPS—A SARCASTIC GERMAN SUGGESTION

From Le Rire (Paris)

LA MAMAN

"Well, you see, I have just got my second mention in the despatches and a military medal to boot."

"Oh, my boy, will you never be prudent?"

THE SOLDIER'S MOTHER THINKS ONLY OF THE RISK HE RUNS

Westerman in the Ohio State Journal

LOVE ME, LOVE MY HOG!

THE CONGRESSMAN'S PET

Carter in the New York Evening Sun

Turkey—"Here he is, your Majesty—I found him!"

RUSSIA "COMES BACK" WITH A VENGEANCE

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trained officers for this work. Secondly, he asked that the Federal Government should furnish the same kind and amount of supplies and equipment for the use of the cadet regiments as are given at present to the National Guard. At the University of Illinois alone there are over two thousand men at present in training.

Beyond this minimum requirement for placing the present system of training upon an efficient basis President James advocated the establishment by the Government of military scholarships of $250 a year, but on condition that the candidate after graduation from the University should enter the army as a second lieutenant for one year, with lieutenant's pay. On completion of this period of active service the student would be obligated to enter the officers' reserve corps for a certain number of years, to be determined by the Federal Government. Such a plan would involve the establishment in the best of the land grant colleges of a course in military science adequate to qualify the student to enter the army on almost equal footing with the graduates of West Point.

The proposition put forward by President James is directly in line with recommendations that have been made by some of our foremost military authorities. It deserves the closest attention and consideration.

NORTHAMPTON SETS A GOOD EXAMPLE

Some of those who are aroused to the need of strengthening National defenses may wonder what they can do about it. This is the story of what one community has done.

At Northampton, Massachusetts, last month there was what Senator Lodge has called the first spontaneous uprising of citizens of any locality, irrespective of party affiliations, representative of all classes, and without connection with any outside organization, that has shown itself for preparedness. There was a great meeting. Over three thousand were present. Two thousand more were turned away. Few if any other occasions have made such an impression upon the city as this. The chairman of the meeting was an Episcopal clergyman, the Rev. Andrew F. Underhill. The invocation was offered by a Roman Catholic priest, Father P. H. Gallen. One of the addresses was made by a clergyman of New York, Dr. Charles A. Eaton. Another was made by a clergyman, now President of Smith College, Dr. Marion L. Burton. The other address was made by Mr. Henry A. Wise Wood. Letters were received from the President of the United States, the Governor of Massachusetts, Senator Lodge, Representative Gillett, Dr. Lyman Abbott, ex-Secretary of the Navy George von L. Meyer, ex-Secretary of War Jacob M. Dickinson, and ex-Secretary of State Robert Bacon. The meeting was the leading local news of the day, and was the subject of editorial comment.

This meeting, however, did not merely expend itself in speeches. Resolutions were prepared which were signed by two thousand and sent to Congress, demanding immediate and vigorous action for preparedness. It resulted in a permanent local organization carrying on a correspondence with the press and with people of other localities to urge that they start similar movements, free from all outside entanglements. This was accomplished in spite of the opposition of some clergymen and influential citizens of the neighborhood. A similar meeting is possible in any city where there is a man with the energy and common sense of the Rev. Mr. Underhill to bring it about.

UNFAIR AND INEXPEDIENT

One reason why men hesitate to enter public life is that their reputations are exposed to public attack, against which defense is impossible. This has been well illustrated by the hearings before the Senate Judicial Committee with reference to the nomination of Louis D. Brandeis to the Supreme Court. Hearsay, opinions, prejudice, gossip, and rumors unrelated to any fact have been put before that Committee as if they were evidence of value. Day after day that Committee has been sitting in Washington and hearing men who for one reason or another have some objection to Mr. Brandeis as a Supreme Court Justice. And all this so-called testimony—some of it worthless—has been spread abroad in the newspapers.

To offset this testimony Mr. Brandeis himself can do nothing. He cannot present himself before that Committee. To do so would be to place himself in the aspect of seeking confirmation. As it is, the consideration of his nomination has assumed the aspect of a case at law, for counsel has been appointed to represent the prosecution and the defense. The whole operation has tended to drag the justiceship of the Supreme Court into the mire.

It is the Senate, not the public, that is

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charged with the duty of confirming or rejecting Presidential nominations. Such public hearings as this Senate Committee has been giving are bound to have an injurious effect. Suppose that Mr. Brandeis is confirmed, as we believe he ought to be, and a case involving Harvard College comes before the Court, it cannot be forgotten that the President of Harvard College is recorded as opposing Mr. Brandeis's nomination, and that a number of professors at the Harvard Law School and a considerable body of undergraduates of Harvard advocated the confirmation of his appointment. Such facts will not affect the mind of any judge, but they do affect the public interpretation of his decisions, and therefore the public confidence in the Court.

The proposal that Justices of the Supreme Court shall be elected has had some vogue, but this process of public hearings of opinions pro and con has absolutely nothing of the advantages claimed for election, and all of the disadvantages.

THE BALLOT IN PERIL IN OKLAHOMA

Last June the special device which Oklahoma had adopted for keeping Negroes from voting was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. Strictly speaking, this device was not for the purpose of keeping Negroes away, but for admitting white men to the polls. It was the so-called "Grandfather Clause." As adopted in certain other States, this Grandfather Clause was merely a temporary measure. The Outlook explained this at the time. The Oklahoma provision, however, appeared to be distinctly a device for race discrimination.

That device being destroyed, Oklahoma legislators have searched for a substitute, and believe they have found it. A new bill has passed both the Senate and the House in Oklahoma, which provides that every voter shall have certain qualifications, and then leaves it to the registrar of elections to determine whether he meets the requirements. This is the language of the law:

> Each qualified elector in this State may be required to make oath that he is a qualified elector in such precinct, and shall answer under oath any questions touching his qualifications as an elector and give under oath the information required to be contained in a registration certificate. If any person shall fail or refuse to give the information required in a registration certificate or fail or refuse to answer any questions propounded to him by said registrar touching his qualifications as an elector, such person shall not be registered and no certificate of registration shall be issued to him. If said registrar shall be satisfied that any person who makes application to register is a qualified elector in the precinct at such time, and if such person complies with all the provisions of this Act, then said registrar shall detach the original registration certificate, properly filled in and containing the information required in this Act, and deliver to such person such original registration certificate.

It is clear that the registration officer has power to decide who shall vote and who shall not. The registrar will have no difficulty, if he wishes to, in deciding that any white man who comes to vote is qualified, and that any colored man who comes to vote is disqualified.

This is bad enough, but it is not the worst of such a law. This provision enables a party, once it obtains power, to keep itself in power indefinitely. A Democratic registrar can decide that Republicans are disqualified, or a Republican registrar can decide that Democrats are disqualified. The Socialist party, once in power, could remain in office, and nothing short of revolution or annulment of the law by the courts could dislodge it.

Such a law was attempted in Maryland several years ago, but was defeated by the opposition of the Governor. We have no doubt what the fate of this law will be if it ever comes to the Supreme Court of the United States.

THE CZAR AND THE DUMA

The attempts of newspaper correspondents in Petrograd to compare the Czar's appearance at the opening of the Duma with the emancipation of the serfs and the manifesto of 1905 establishing the germ of constitutional government in Russia should be discounted from ninety to ninety-nine per cent. Important as the event undoubtedly is, we must remember the position of the men from whose despatches we can get our only immediate accounts of it. Obliged by the certain news value of the occasion to write something of it, they know it is a waste of labor to write anything displeasing to the censor. Small wonder, then, that the correspondents of British, French, and American newspapers and news services in Petrograd accept much of the optismistic buncombe of the Government's press agents, and refer to "the pres-

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ence of the Emperor Nicholas at the opening of the Duma as 'the beginning of a new era.'"

We should like to believe that this first visit of the Russian Emperor to "the legislative body in this formal way" means that "a new page in Russian history is being opened," as Premier Sturmer says it does, but there have been so many promises unfulfilled that skepticism may be excusable.

Talk is cheap. And the promises of Russian monarchs cannot be accepted at their face value until a few of them have been made good. The unkept promises of Russian Emperors for the abolition of the Siberian exile system and for the extension of civil rights in Russia make us loth to rely on their words unless backed up by some action.

There is a similarity between the tone of the pseudo-liberal utterances of Premier Sturmer at the recent opening of the Duma and the remarks of Premier Goremykin when the Duma was convened last June. On the former occasion, as reported by Mr. George Kennan in The Outlook, Goremykin said:

"In the heterogeneous population of our great Empire it is not only the Poles who, in this year of war, have shown their loyalty to Russia. Our domestic policy, therefore, must be characterized by impartial and benevolent regard for the interests of all true citizens of Russia; without regard to nationality, language, or form of religious belief."

But, having secured the passage of some legislation which it wanted, the bureaucracy prorogued the Duma in September without regard for the protests and "interests of all true citizens of Russia," which were seeking expression through the newly formed liberal coalition known as the Progressive *Bloc*.

And we fear that after it has secured the further legislation which it now wants, and after it has for a short time and for the benefit of Russia's allies and neutrals maintained an appearance of representative government in Russia, if the people through their agents in the Duma begin to ask for real self-government, the bureaucracy will again prevail on the Czar to close the Duma.

There is scant evidence that the Czar has sustained a real change of heart. The recent appointment of the reactionary Sturmer as Premier is evidence that he has not. But actions speak louder than words, and we shall be the first to applaud actions that will disprove our not very sanguine prognosis for the immediate future in Russian politics.

HENRY JAMES

The death, at the age of seventy-two, of Henry James, the distinguished novelist and literary critic, took place in London on February 28. The English reviews of his work and place in literature which followed have been even more appreciative and laudatory than those of the writers for the American press, and evince a high regard for the fineness and charm of his personality as well as for the distinction and subtlety of his books.

In the days when Mr. James's first novels were appearing it was common to speak of him as an "international novelist" because many of those stories, such as the well-known "Daisy Miller," introduced both English and American characters, and played about international marriage and social problems. In another sense Mr. James was an international writer, for, while his birth and early training were American, a very large part of his life was spent in England, and about six months ago he ceased to be an American citizen by pledging his allegiance to Great Britain; one cannot doubt that his reason was not merely his long residence, personal associations with and affection for Englishmen and English ways, but a desire to make himself a part of the English struggle against autocracy and militarism. Just after he received from King George in January last the Order of Merit (an honor held, we believe, by only one other novelist, Mr. Maurice Hewlett) he was quoted as saying, "How can one not feel that the Allies are fighting to the death for the soul and the purpose and the future that are in us, for the defense of every ideal that has most guided our growth and that most assures our unity?"

Henry James, the novelist, was the son of Henry James, the Swedenborgian theologian; and from the father very probably both the novelist and his brother William, the distinguished psychologist, derived their subtle mentality and power of analysis. In perfect clarity of statement William James was the superior, and there is an often-quoted phrase: "William James writes philosophy like novels, while Henry writes novels like philosophy." Yet those who remember Henry James's earlier stories know that he could write directly and entertainingly rather than subjectively and involvedly. "The Americans," "Roderick

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Hudson," "The Princess Casamassima," and "The Portrait of a Lady" represent that stage of his writing; the last named especially shows how delicately yet clearly he could deal with motives and personal traits without the over-elaboration and remotely illusive manner that permeate such books as "The Wings of a Dove" and "The Golden Bowl." No list of the best of American fiction would be complete that did not contain "The Portrait of a Lady." There was a time when Howells and James were commonly, but casually, bracketed together as the founders of a school of fiction; in fact, they differed widely in subject and style, and as time went on the difference became more and more apparent.

Like Browning, Henry James often deliberately fostered a tendency to compel his readers to study hard in order to extract the whole meaning intended. In his later work Mr. James not only did this, but he allowed his style to become obscure, so that it is easy to pick out what might be called puzzle-sentences, involved and tortuous. This is a serious fault, and to it, as well as to his love for dealing with the subjective, is due the fact that the readers of his books have become more and more limited in number and have almost established a narrow Henry James cult. One hopes that the discussion that must follow his death will lead many who have been overawed by this side of his work to read or re-read such natural, sincere, and truly human stories as those named above. Nor should Mr. James's work as a critic and essayist be forgotten. His "Life of Nathaniel Hawthorne" and his "French Poets and Novelists" are admirable.

With all his detriments as a writer, Mr. James had the mark of distinction, of culture, and of penetrating thought.

RAPHAEL'S COLONNA MADONNA

Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan has presented to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, the "Colonna" Madonna, bought by his father fifteen years ago. The picture, of which an illustration appears on another page, is so called because it was in the possession of the Colonna family at Rome for over a century. It was painted by Raphael in 1504 or 1505 for the nuns of the Convent of St. Antony at Padua, and so that none of them might be offended the little Christ wears a white tunic and the infant St. John is in camel's-hair clothes! The picture was ultimately sold by the nuns, not only because they were in debt, but also because some parts of the surface of the painting were flaking away. They sold it to one Antonio Bigazzini, who in turn sold it to the Colonnas. In 1802 it became the property of Francis I, King of the Two Sicilies, and passed to Francis II, who, when dethroned, took it to Spain. Upon the death of Francis in 1894 it was successively bought by two foreign collectors, and in 1901 by an American collector, Mr. Morgan. After its many vicissitudes the painting now finds a home—and, we hope, a permanent one—in the greatest of galleries on this hemisphere.

The acquisition is extremely notable; indeed, the picture has been called the most important ever brought to America. That it truly is, affirms Mr. Bryson Burroughs, the curator of paintings at the Museum, who adds, "and also one of the two or three greatest that have come on the market within a generation."

As an example of Raphael's work the picture is of much interest. It marks the period when he had begun to throw off the influence of his master, Perugino, but had not so much emancipated himself from it as we note in later works. The traditional throne is there on which Mary is sitting holding the Babe on her knee, while at her feet is the infant St. John. At the right are St. Rosalia and St. Paul, at the left St. Anne and St. Peter—all noble and statuesque figures. In a lunette above is a representation of God the Father in the act of benediction, a cherub and an angel on each side. It is thus a formal composition.

As a whole, the picture lacks the life and the idea of movement conveyed by some of Raphael's other Madonnas, notably that most human of all, the Madonna della Sedia in Florence. Nor is the color as rich as in some of the later Madonnas. But it is none the less a majestic and monumental work done in "the grand style." Its sublime simplicity gives it an eternal appeal.

PAUL MANSHIP'S WORK IN SCULPTURE

Those who have been admiring Mr. Manship's work in sculpture, now on exhibition at the Berlin Photographic Gallery, New York City, may be surprised to learn that he is only thirty years old. He is a native of St. Paul, Minnesota. He always took interest in modeling, and from it to real sculpture

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was but a step. He advanced rapidly, and finally obtained a scholarship at our American Academy in Rome. Such a scholarship means a thousand dollars a year for three years at Rome, the defraying of traveling expenses, and the use of the Academy's studios and lodgings.

As is the custom with all the Academy's students of sculpture, young Manship went to Greece, and the result of his sojourn was that the work of the early Greek sculptors profoundly affected him. Though the technical skill of those sculptors was defective, they sought minutely to copy nature. Despite the rather crude hardness of their achievements, any one can see that they tried to express a thought, to crystallize an idea.

Unlike the achievements of the early Greeks, Mr. Manship's work shows no crude hardness. Nor do we think it either an affectation or a mere clever adaptation of some antique original. The qualities which made those early Greeks great—clear precision and simple force—are evident, together with the grace of the later Greek figures and the anatomical correctness of a still later time. Mr. Manship's motive may be to emphasize a thought, an ideal, or perhaps just a decorative instinct. Solid modeling brings the forms of nature into decorative lines and masses, and in this, as may be noted in the illustration on another page, the sculptor seems to retain the spontaneity and buoyancy of the particular moment when he first thought of his subject.

Another reminder of the ancient Greeks is the polish which Mr. Manship gives to his bronzes—and most of his productions are small bronzes. The idea is both to approach the quality of the human skin and to induce high lights on the figures.

Again, most of the bronzes are single figures. When there is more than one, symmetry as well as boldness of grouping is evident.

Mr. Manship's work first aroused Nation-wide attention three years ago at the exhibition of the Academy of Design in New York City, when his "Centaur and Dryad" took the only reward offered in sculpture. A still more notable tribute to the young sculptor came when the Metropolitan Museum of Art acquired the "Centaur and Dryad."

Throughout Mr. Manship evidently strives to show not so much the temporary as the permanent in his subjects. In them idealism predominates, and for the most part it seems the joyous idealism of youth.

THE CRIPPLES OF FRANCE

Sudden death is not so terrible a feature of war as permanent disablement. The men who are left on a field of battle, crippled for life, are more to be pitied than the men who have fallen in charge, never to rise again. For the next generation Europe will be filled with one-armed and one-legged men, derelicts left to drift about in the path of the war storm.

One of the most praiseworthy forms of war relief is the aid to French cripples recently described by Mr. Arthur Gleason in the New York "Tribune." As Mr. Gleason points out, the majority of men who are maimed by war are unable to make a living in competition with able-bodied men, or even with able-bodied women, unless they are given a careful training to fit them for some industry wherein their particular injury will least handicap them. In their despair, some of the men who have been crippled fighting for France after leaving war hospitals have committed suicide.

"A society has been formed in Paris," says Mr. Gleason, "to save these men. For $100 a maimed man can be supported and educated into a worker who will carry himself. Such trades are taught as basket-making, carpentry, glass-work, photography, shoemaking, tailoring, instrument-making, watchmaking, tinware, bookkeeping, shorthand, and typewriting."

For instance, stenography and tailoring are easier than most trades for one-legged men, while many Frenchmen who have lost one arm find that this is not an unconquerable handicap in such a trade as toy-making when they are equipped with an "apparatus . . . to supply the missing section of the arm."

The Americans living in Paris have already raised $20,000, a sum that will help two hundred men to help themselves. But "at this moment," says Mr. Gleason, "thirty thousand maimed soldiers are asking for work. Thirty thousand jobs are ready for them. The employers of France are holding the positions open, because they need these workers. Only the training is lacking. This is a charity to do away with the need of charity."

Americans who want to take this opportunity to repay France something of the great

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debt we owe her for her help to us in our Revolution can send donations to Mrs. Edmund Lincoln Baylies, Room B, Plaza Hotel, New York City, who is chairman of the American Committee for Training the Maimed Soldiers of France.

THE PANAMA CONGRESS

Perhaps the most interesting event in the religious world of to-day has been the Congress on Christian Work, meeting at Panama. Three hundred and fifty representatives of various Protestant bodies in every republic of the hemisphere have been considering their work in Latin America, what it has been and what it ought to be.

The Outlook has had its special correspondent at Panama, from whom we expect a full account after the termination of the Congress. Meanwhile the daily "Star and Herald" of Panama has given a long, well-written, and deeply interesting review of each day's proceedings.

In his address of welcome, Señor Ernesto Lefevre, the Panaman Foreign Minister, confessing himself a sincere and devout Catholic, recognized the lofty and comprehensive purpose of the Congress. Professor Ernest Monteverde, of Uruguay, was elected President of the Congress. Its discussions, as far as reported, have been marked by a notable and welcome freedom of expression.

Its first conclusion seems to have been that Protestantism, if divided into unrelated and un-cooperative denominations, cannot meet the demand of the great social and religious opportunities which Latin America presents. How far, then, may the various denominations go in unifying their efforts? Should they become actually one church, or merely co-operate in specific types of service? The Chairman of the sessions of the Congress, Mr. Robert E. Speer, an energizing force in Presbyterian mission work, has been quoted as saying that by the close of this century there may be no such thing as a Presbyterian Church at all, and if so, he would not be surprised. The repetition of this statement at Panama brought prolonged cheers from the delegates. The supersensitiveness which often charac terizes references to various church bodies in conferences like that of Panama was conspicuously absent. The "Star and Herald" thus comments:

> Presbyterians referred to Methodists, Con gregationalists referred to Baptists and Disciples, and each one, speaking humbly, made confession of the mistakes of his own denomination in living too much to itself, and in not putting the kingdom of God ahead of its own sectarian interests.

One of the chief problems discussed was that of possible co-operation between the Protestant and Roman Catholic bodies. The statements from missionaries in Latin America were, of course, most pertinent, particularly those from Mexico. One speaker surprised his ultra-Protestant brethren by describing the practical, effective, and sympathetic co-operation from Roman Catholics which he had experienced there. Another declared that the reconstruction period in Mexico presents just the opportunity for Protestant forces to reconstruct their methods and take the field.

BRAZIL AND OTHERS

Is Latin America, then, to be left longer as a witness to the non-catholicity of Christianity? This query came from Bishop Kinsolving, of the Episcopal diocese of Brazil. While we are reaching out helping hands to our own aborigines, to the Hindus of India and the Mongols of China, is it not also our duty to see that nations Christian in name shall be also Christian in fact? The Bishop added:

> Since Brazil took her place among the sisterhood of commonwealths no state religion is any longer intrenched in her governmental life.

In this connection the address of Professor Braga, of the theological seminary at Campinas, Brazil, was impressive.

There was naturally much comment concerning education. With regard to the alienation of the educated classes in Latin America from the Church, President King, of Oberlin College, justly declared that the Church has not yet learned how to preach to the educated classes there. A thorough survey of educational conditions was made by the Congress, with special attention, of course, to the attitude of educators toward religion. This seemed even more striking than the forty to eighty per cent of illiteracy in Latin-American countries, and is to be met only by the adequate manning of Christian schools. Co-operation in education was urged by Dr. William Adams Brown, of Union Theological Seminary; he suggested that certain members of the teaching staffs of North American universities should be periodically released to visit Latin-American schools, for purposes both of inspiration and instruction.

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A NATION BESIEGED

In the siege of a city the hope of the besiegers is to exhaust the supplies and wear out the courage of the defenders, and so either to compel a surrender or to carry the weakened city by assault. The hope of the besieged is to secure supplies by leaks through the enemies' lines or by sorties of foraging parties, and so weary the patience of the besiegers, or by a grand sortie to make connection with allies beyond the besiegers' forces, and so raise the siege.

Germany is a nation besieged.

On the west and on the east the lines are closely drawn and are impenetrable. In the west occasional engagements give a local success to one party or the other, but since the Battle of the Marne nothing has occurred to change materially the military situation. In the east Russia attempted a grand assault on the besieged nation and was driven back beyond the outer works of the besieged, except in eastern Galicia. But the Germans then did nothing to raise the siege on the east. No supplies can reach the Empire along the Russian front.

In the north there is a break in the besiegers' lines. To close this break England has adopted the doctrine that she may stop *en route* supplies evidently intended for the besieged, although they are directed to a neutral port. We may be sure that she will not abandon this position even if it does involve strained relations with the United States, for this position is essential to the success of the siege. Germany knows this; and that is why she is attempting to induce America to help her break through the siege at this point. On the south the besiegers' lines are firmly held by Italy. This, rather than her gradual recovery from Austria of Italian territory inhabited by an Italian population, is the essential service Italy is rendering in the campaign. She was right not to hazard the accomplishment of this task by diverting a large part of her forces for the succor of Servia and Montenegro.

The Balkan campaign is in the nature of a successful sortie. It has brought into Germany some needed food supplies from Bulgaria; but it has done nothing to raise the siege, and can do nothing unless it enables her to make such a junction with the Turkish allies as to threaten seriously the English occupation of Egypt. The success of the Russian campaign in the Caucasus renders any such attempt against Egypt highly improbable.

Germany, fighting on interior lines, has been able to shift her forces with great rapidity from east to west and from north to south as the exigencies of the campaign demanded. But neither her Zeppelin raids and her submarine raids in the west nor her brilliant and successful drives against Russia in the east and against Servia in the south have had any effect to raise the siege. The coils of the anaconda are not loosened nor its strength weakened. The conflicting reports in the daily papers throw no real light on the progress of the campaign. The question for the candid student of current events to ask himself is this: Which of these two Powers, the besiegers or the besieged, is likely the sooner to be exhausted?

Except—that as a last resort the German fleet may issue from its hiding-place and engage the British fleet in what then would probably be the greatest naval battle of history. A decisive victory for either party in such a battle would probably end the war.

THE GERMAN ISSUE IN CONGRESS

There is a group in Congress that has more regard for German demands than for American rights. No one denies that Americans have the right to travel in safety on merchant vessels belonging to citizens or subjects of the nations at war. Americans traveling on such vessels have been ruthlessly killed by German submarines. Such German submarines have attacked such merchant vessels without warning, and have sunk them without regard for international law or humanity. Now Germany demands two things: That Americans keep off such merchant vessels under peril of death, and that the merchant vessels be deprived of any power of self-defense. Such demands are contrary to international law, to common sense, and to the rights of Americans.

Afraid of the consequences of standing up for these rights, certain Representatives and Senators in Congress have undertaken to override the President, yield to Germany, and avoid the unpleasant task of defending American lives at sea and maintaining the law of nations and of humanity. The President, on Tuesday of last week, called upon Congress to vote upon their proposal.

These Senators and Representatives have

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been encouraged in their revolt against the President's course in the controversy with Germany by two circumstances. One was the fact that the Secretary of State, Mr. Lansing, suggested to the Allies that they disarm their merchantmen, and said at the end of his memorandum :

My Government is impressed with the reasonableness of the argument that a merchant ship carrying an armament of any sort, in view of the character of the submarine warfare and the defensive weakness of undersea craft, should be held to be an auxiliary cruiser and so treated by a neutral as well as by a belligerent Government, and is seriously considering instructing its officials accordingly.

The other circumstance was the telegram to Mr. Bailey, of Pennsylvania, from Mr. Bryan, urging the adoption of a law forbidding Americans to travel on belligerent merchant ships.

Under this encouragement, unintentionally given by the present Secretary of State, and consciously and deliberately offered by the ex-Secretary of State, Senator Gore (whose views are typical of this anti-American, pro-German group) has declared in a published statement that " sacred sentiment should not be made a plaything in the hands of every thoughtless, reckless wayfarer who for the love of profit or adventure or pleasure may choose to dally with danger or death upon an armed belligerent vessel." In similar terms, a contemporary of George Washington and John Hancock might have said that " sacred sentiment should not be made a plaything in the hands of every thoughtless, reckless colonist who for the love of a cheap cup of tea may choose to refuse to pay the tax which the British Government has laid upon it."

Such men as Senators Gore and Stone (Democrats) and Works (Republican), and such Representatives as Mondell (Republican) and Clark and Kitchin (Democrats) have been well answered by the President in his letter addressed to Senator Stone, published on another page, and by the able Democrat, Carter Glass, of Virginia, a leader in the House of Representatives, whose statement is also printed in this issue.

One word only shall we add to these statements. Mr. Bryan, in his telegram to Mr. Bailey, says : " A mayor keeps the people of his city out of the danger zone during a riot. Can our Government afford to do less when the world is in riot ?"

Let us suppose that Mr. Bryan were the mayor of a city and that a riot broke out while he was in authority. Suppose the rioters served notice on the mayor that he must keep the citizens off the street. Suppose Mr. Bryan declined to do anything to restore order and subdue the rioters. Suppose Mr. Bryan acquiesced in the rioters' demands. We accept Mr. Bryan's parallel. Under those circumstances, we should counsel the Governor to remove Mr. Bryan as fast as a telegram could reach him.

A LETTER FROM A NEIGHBOR

We have received a letter from a neighbor of ours in Ohio that touches on three centuries of history and half the American continent. It is a philosophical letter, shrewd, kindly, and well salted with humor. Without its author's permission we are taking the liberty of sharing it with our readers :

W. B. MILLER
JUSTICE OF THE PEACE
Austinburg, Ohio, February 22, 1916.

Mr. Arthur M. Morse,
Assistant Treasurer of The Outlook Company :

My Dear Sir—Your kind favor of the 19th inst. inquiring why I discontinue my subscription to The Outlook is at hand. I must compliment you upon the industrious eye to business that led you to so quickly detect that one was missing from among your thousands of subscribers.

My act was for no reason that you need to take to heart ; it was because of old age and my inability to keep up with all the reading matter that accumulates on my desk. I am now in my eighty-third year. I was, and am, in accord with you in most things. As compared with the newspapers of these days I do not have to say of you that you underrate the intelligence of your readers. Away back in the heyday of steamboating on the Western rivers I was for thirty years—during and after the Civil War—a master of passenger steamers on the Mississippi ; the knowledge of people, gained then and not ended yet, stands me in good stead now, and I have to grin as I note how less seriously the average man takes his newspaper now as compared with then. I started out in life imagining myself a Democrat. My first vote was cast for James Buchanan. If the good Lord will forgive me for that, I will take the risk on all the balance of my sins myself. I never did it again. My vote has been a Republican vote since that. Twice I have voted for Roosevelt, and hope to again, although regretting that he has in his train the suffrage and prohibition isms. That lost him more votes than it gained in the Middle West.

Twenty years ago I came back here to the

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old home and under the shade of the old trees where I played when a boy. An eventful life finds me at last quite content with the Western Reserve of Ohio. Its record averages well. Giddings and Wade, whom it was my good fortune to know intimately and well, sleep their last sleep five miles from where I write this. Burton was raised in this village; is, by his old neighbors, criticised a bit for being a little late in getting his ear to the ground on the preparedness question; yet, if nominated—which he will not be—he would get a majority vote here on his own stamping-ground.

Altogether I can afford to look on and grin at the antics of politics, and am,

Sincerely and cordially yours,

W. B. MILLER.

Doubtless Mr. Miller's early observations of the results of the negative and vacillating policy of Buchanan, whose timid treatment of slavery and the secession movement from 1857 to 1861 has become a historical synonym for Presidential weakness, did much to color the trend of his whole political philosophy. Doubtless, too, it is his recollection of the positive courage of Giddings and Wade that influences him to demand of the present generation of public men something more than a leadership which merely follows behind the crowd.

When Mr. Miller's friend Giddings was born, Washington was still alive and the sands of the eighteenth century had still five years to run. A pioneer in the Western Reserve, Joshua Giddings played his part as he saw it in the wilderness of Ashtabula County, in the law courts of Ohio, and in the halls of Congress.

To Joshua Giddings and his constituents slavery was an unthinkable institution in a free republic. He did not live to see it abolished; on the contrary, he suffered the formal censure of the House of Representatives for introducing in its august assembly a resolution declaring that slaves who escaped from the United States to foreign soil violated no law of the Nation "in resuming their natural rights to personal liberty." Joshua Giddings was an able captain in the party which took its stand on the platform of Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men.

Like Giddings, Benjamin Franklin Wade, his law partner, went to the Western Reserve from another State. Farmer, drover, schoolteacher, student of medicine, laborer on the Erie Canal, and lawyer, Wade typified in his career much of that independent spirit of thought and action which marked the three decades of our history preceding the Civil War. Giddings in the House and Wade in the Senate were forces to be reckoned with by those who sought to extend the peculiar institution of the South into the newer regions of the North and West. Wade was a blunt, rough-spoken orator, yet more than once he turned the weapons of more polished opponents against themselves with skillful and unanswerable effectiveness.

Senator Badger, of North Carolina, arguing for the right of Southern slaveholders to carry their slaves with them into the free Territory of Kansas, said: "Why, if some Southern gentleman wishes to take the nurse who takes charge of his little baby, or the old woman who nursed him in childhood and whom he called 'Mammy' until he returned from college and perhaps afterward too, and whom he wishes to take with him in his old age when he is moving into one of these new Territories for the betterment of the fortunes of the whole family, why, in the name of God, should anybody prevent it?" To this argument Wade instantly replied: "The Senator entirely mistakes our position. We have not the least objection and would oppose no obstacles to the Senator's migrating to Kansas and taking his old 'Mammy' along with him. We only insist that he shall not be empowered to *sell* her after taking her there."

Senator Toombs also found in Wade a redoubtable antagonist. "The Wilmot-Proviso man," said Toombs, "holds that you can cram freedom whether the people want it or not, but take care how you cram slavery." "That is it," replied Wade—and the history of the United States bears out the conclusion that Senator Wade's reply was entirely adequate.

If it be said that, during the period of reconstruction and the impeachment of Andrew Johnson, Wade showed more of the character of a bitter partisan than of a broad-minded statesman, it must be remembered that the conflict between freedom and slavery produced no large number of Lincolns or Lees. To-day we can realize the full measure of the failure of the policy of Congressional reconstruction advocated by Wade. It might be well for us if we had as full an appreciation of his rugged honesty of purpose and of the necessity of applying this same spirit to the solution of our present problems.

Wade and Giddings are gone, and with them, as Mr. Miller reminds us, the heyday of steamboating on the Western rivers. Congressional appropriations for the dredging of

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dry creeks and the damming of waters destined to run unburdened by traffic to the sea seem to have only less effect in restoring the commerce of half a century ago than would a Congressional resolution to bring back to their seats in the House and Senate the ghosts of those who fought the long fight for the abolition of slavery. Yet the outlook on life which Mr. Miller won from his experiences on those same rivers is as refreshing to-day as the waters still coursing between their banks.

We hope that Justice Miller, "full of wise saws and modern instances," and, we trust, "with good capon" too, may be long spared to fill a chair of Political Philosophy in the University of American Neighborhoods.

"THE CLEAR RIGHTS OF AMERICAN CITIZENS"[1]

I—PRESIDENT WILSON'S LETTER TO SENATOR STONE

February 24, 1916.

My Dear Senator:

I very warmly appreciate your kind and frank letter of to-day, and feel that it calls for an equally frank reply.

You are right in assuming that I shall do everything in my power to keep the United States out of war. I think the country will feel no uneasiness about my course in that respect.

Through many anxious months I have striven for that object, amidst difficulties more manifold than can have been apparent upon the surface; and so far I have succeeded. I do not doubt that I shall continue to succeed.

The course which the central European Powers have announced their intention of following in the future with regard to undersea warfare seems for the moment to threaten insuperable obstacles, but its apparent meaning is so manifestly inconsistent with explicit assurances recently given us by these Powers with regard to their treatment of merchant vessels on the high seas that I must believe that explanations will presently ensue which will put a different aspect upon it.

We have had no reason to question their good faith or their fidelity to their promises in the past, and I for one feel confident that we shall have none in the future.

But in any event our duty is clear. No nation, no group of nations, has the right while war is in progress to alter or disregard the principles which all nations have agreed upon in mitigation of the horrors and sufferings of war; and if the clear rights of American citizens should ever unhappily be abridged or denied by any such action, we should, it seems to me, have in honor no choice as to what our own course should be.

For my own part, I cannot consent to any abridgment of the rights of American citizens in any respect. The honor and self-respect of the nation is involved. We covet peace and shall preserve it at any cost but the loss of honor.

To forbid our people to exercise their rights for fear we might be called upon to vindicate them would be a deep humiliation indeed. It would be an implicit, all but an explicit, acquiescence in the violation of the rights of mankind everywhere and of whatever nation or allegiance. It would be a deliberate abdication of our hitherto proud position as spokesman, even amid the turmoil of war, for the law and the right.

It would make everything this Government has attempted and everything it has achieved during this terrible struggle of nations meaningless and futile.

It is important to reflect that if in this instance we allowed expediency to take the place of principle the door would inevitably be opened to still further concessions.

Once accept a single abatement of right and many other humiliations would certainly follow, and the whole fine fabric of international law might crumble under our hands, piece by piece. What we are contending for in this matter is of the very essence of the things that have made America a sovereign nation. She cannot yield them without conceding her own impotency as a Nation and making virtual surrender of her independent position among the nations of the world.

I am speaking, my dear Senator, in deep solemnity, without heat, with a clear consciousness of the high responsibilities of my office, and as your sincere and devoted friend.

[1] See editorial comment on another page.—THE EDITORS.

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If we should unhappily differ, we shall differ as friends; but where issues so momentous as these are involved we must, just because we are friends, speak our minds without reservation. Faithfully yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

II—A STATEMENT TO THE PRESS BY CARTER GLASS, DEMOCRATIC REPRESENTATIVE FROM VIRGINIA

February 26, 1916.

I have made no systematic canvass of the House, nor am I willing to assume to speak for the House; but I have a very distinct impression, based on expressions made to me by scores of members, that no resolution seeking to discredit the President's management of the foreign relations of this Government and to substitute action of Congress for that of the Executive will get a majority of the votes in the House or anything like a majority.

I am perfectly confident that no such resolution would receive a majority of Democratic votes, and I am not disposed to believe that the Republican members are one whit less disposed to leave this grave problem of international adjustment to the orderly processes of diplomacy. If they are, so much the worse for them and so much more the frightful responsibility.

For my part, I would hate to believe that Congress is in favor of any such detestable capitulation as that which has been suggested involving inseparably an abject relinquishment of cherished National rights and a brutal reproach of the President for trying to preserve the dignity and prestige of the United States among the great Powers of the earth.

If that is really the temper of Congress, the issue should not be postponed to-day. We should have the test promptly in order that we may determine whether the honor of this American Nation as it would be reflected by such a desperate legislative usurpation is worth the ceaseless vigil and the brave fight which has characterized the efforts of President Wilson to preserve it.

For my part, I do not believe Congress is in anything like such a mood or that it can be precipitated into any such action. But there should be no doubt about it either in this country or abroad. Infinite harm is said to have ensued from the Teutonic misconception of this Nation's attitude in the initial stages of the Lusitania negotiations, and it is not difficult to perceive that even graver consequences might result from the supposition that Congress has a gripping anxiety to repudiate Woodrow Wilson and embrace von Tirpitz.

This is not a party question. It is an American question. But if there is real foundation for the well-nigh incredible assertion that the Democratic side of the House is impatient to antagonize the President in his firm stand for American rights as against threatened maritime murder, then there are many of us who want to go on record to the contrary—who would covet the distinction of refusing to follow any such leadership.

I do not believe the Democratic side is headed in any such direction. If it is, I am going the other way as fast and as far as I can; nor do I apprehend that I will be in any wise ashamed of my company.

THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS

A POLL OF THE PRESS

ON the preceding page we reprint President Wilson's note to Senator Stone with reference to the insurgent feeling in Congress about the submarine issue. The note has been variously commented upon. Of first interest are the adverse criticisms.

THE PRESIDENT'S OPPONENTS

As might be expected, the sharpest come from the German-American press. They are all reflected in the following statement from the Chicago "Illinois Staats-Zeitung:"

Wilson demanded of Germany that she brand herself as a murderer; he demanded that Germany of her own accord give up the use of her strongest arm; that she, and again of her own accord, surrender the unrestricted control of the seas to Great Britain; and that, finally, the father-soldiers fighting in defense of millions of mothers and children of the Empire should

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stand aside, helplessly, witnessing the results of a bestial starvation policy.

In this, too, the German Government . . . went so far that even the insatiable President was forced to admit that he was pacified, and declared that merchant ships must not be armed if they wish to be immune from attack. . . . On the very next day, by London's command, our Administration made requirements of Germany to the effect that her submarines must warn enemy merchant ships, whether they are armed or not. . . .

Another Illinois paper, the Peoria "Transcript" (Rep.), remarks:

War is war. Why should not either of the belligerents sink without notice hostile merchantmen loaded with munitions cargoes? Does not the presence of Americans on board these merchantmen, whether armed or unarmed, make this Government the *de facto* ally of the carrying nation as against the submarine nation seeking to prevent delivery?

And then follows this remarkable statement:

This country has no grievance against either belligerent. These are times when the *casus belli* must be vital and substantial.

Milwaukee is supposed to be mostly pro-German. In the Milwaukee "Leader," a Socialist paper, we read:

Mr. Wilson has been given warning from Congress that he must consult with the representatives of the people before placing the United States in a position where it may be involved in the world's war.

It has now become plain that it is the sentiment of Congress, as we believe it is of the American people, that war should not be invited by any doctrinaire insistence upon the technical rights of neutrals to travel on belligerent ships.

In justice to American citizens who may be obliged to travel upon the high seas, they should be made aware of the danger which they invite when they take passage upon belligerent ships. . . .

It would be a crime for the United States to enter the war for any reason save that its people should be convinced that its intervention alone could preserve civilization.

Another Milwaukee paper, the popular "Sentinel" (Rep.) says:

Speaker Clark says the resolutions to exclude Americans from armed ships would surely carry in the House by 2 to 1, and perhaps even 3 to 1.

In that proportion the common-sense view prevails in the popular and representative House; and we think is a fair register of public opinion, as ascertainable by referendum. . . .

Our Government has kept us out of this ruinous and senseless war thus far. The war must have run at least half its course, and it certainly is no time for our Government to be goaded or stampeded away from sane, sensible, and prudential courses by gentlemen whose emotional displays about the European war have been kept in cold storage until the approach of National convention time. . . .

Senator Gore will introduce a resolution "prohibiting Americans from traveling on any armed merchant vessel of any belligerent nationality." And the prospect is that such a resolution would be generally favored by Congress, which is perfectly well aware that 999 out of every 1,000 of sane and pro-America Americans are distinctly opposed to any madhouse policy of plunging this country into a distinctively European and unprecedentedly irrational and unjustifiable war for any legal punctilio whatsoever.

The Sacramento "Bee" (Ind.) gives this long-distance view from California:

Congress wishes to warn Americans against traveling on armed passenger ships of belligerent nations. . . . That plan has aroused President Wilson to violent opposition. The principle, however, from this distance seems sound.

A Democratic paper, the New York "American," reflects as follows:

It looks very much as if Mr. Wilson had determined to play politics at the expense of peace, as if he had determined to precipitate the Nation into war in the hope of insuring his re-election. . . .

If Mr. Wilson believes what he says to Germany about the sanctity of American rights, then he cannot excuse his actions towards Mexico. If he believes that his conduct of non-interference with Mexican outrages upon Americans is right, then his high words to Germany are inexplicable.

Finally, a Mormon paper, the "Deseret Evening News," at Salt Lake City, thus presents the pacific side:

Suppose two neighbors were engaged in a quarrel over the location of a fence between their properties. One might put up his fence where he contended it should be, only to have it torn down by the other. They go to law to settle the matter. In the meantime do they continue to put up the fence, tear it down, put it up again and tear it down again in a continual round of neighborly strife? They do not. While the action is pending a court order stops the row until the matter is adjudicated, whereupon the fence goes up where the Court says it should go up. The same procedure may properly be taken in this big question. In the matter of the right of Americans to travel on these armed merchantmen, we in this country very naturally think our position is exactly right. Germany, on the other hand, thinks that she is right. It is a quarrel with two sides to it. In the usual run of affairs of this sort there are three ways to settle the issues—the timid party yields to the

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stronger, or there is a fight and the weaker is whipped into submission, or there is a calm discussion of the merits of the case between the contenders or before a third party intrusted with the decision. The first two we can dismiss as not desirable. The third appears to be the only way left.

While the question is pending, perhaps the discussion that has filled the press from shore to shore will prove sufficiently impressive to deter those Americans who intend crossing the water from endangering their countrymen by foolishly risking their lives.

Apparently "on the fence," the Philadelphia "Telegraph" (Rep.) asks:

Has the time not come for Americans to inquire . . . whether the German Government may not be right in its demand that merchant ships which ask immunity from unwarned attack shall be forbidden to carry arms? Will the United States not serve the cause of humanity and justice among nations best by officially adopting the view that none except totally unarmed vessels are immune from sudden attack, and by backing this opinion with a declaration that all Americans who go to sea on armed vessels of belligerent nations must do so without any expectation that this Government will demand satisfaction for disaster befalling them during the voyage? . . .

It is to be hoped that the President may be able to see that the wisest course would be to refuse passports to Americans who desire to travel on armed ships, and then, if any American's life is taken by Germany through any act in contravention of international law, the whole Nation, to a man, will back the President in any action he may take against Germany.

THE PRESIDENT'S SUPPORTERS

The President's supporters are, of course, first of all those of his own party. The New York "Times" (Ind. Dem.) proclaims:

Mr. Wilson has elected to move in the right direction in the right way. The American people are squarely behind him. Their response to his letter to Senator Stone last week is proof of that. Congress also is squarely behind him, save for that small, vociferous, un-American element which shall now be counted once for all time. When Mr. Wilson desired Congress to pigeonhole those resolutions, it did so. Now that he asks it to bring them out and force thereon a vote of confidence in the principles he has asserted, it will do that also.

The Rochester "Union and Advertiser" (Ind. Dem.) exclaims:

If in any breast there has slumbered the faintest spark of love of country, the words of President Wilson to Senator Stone must fan them into flame. The spirit of America breathes life into every line of this great letter. Literature it is, yes, literature of the highest order. But we have no time now for mere literature. The honor of our country is at stake, and the President of our country has called to us to stand by him against those puny souls that would betray her.

The Brooklyn "Citizen" (Dem.) declares:

If the Representatives and Senators in question are not beyond the reach of reason, they will make haste to align themselves with the President and the country, instead of continuing to figure as the mere tools of Germany. Should they, on the other hand, persist in their determination to play the game of a foreign government against our own, under the guise of devotion to peace, they will soon find themselves face to face with constituencies that are neither befogged nor irresolute.

Among Southern Democratic journals, none, we believe, enjoys higher esteem than the Columbia "State." One reason of this is the fact that this South Carolina paper does not hesitate to admonish Democrats:

That President Wilson has heavier problems to solve than any other President has had since Mr. Lincoln is a common saying, and it is true. From the beginning of the war in Europe his burdens have increased, and there is no present prospect that they will lighten. Yet they might be lightened. It is within the power of Congress to assist in clearing the way for the progress of the country out of the difficulties that, by reason of a state of world war, beset it.

There are Democrats in Congress who seem to be incapable of understanding that the time does not permit of indulgence in partisan wranglings. There are Democrats who refuse to discern that leadership and unity of action are essential not only to the preservation of public respect for the Democratic party, but to the safety of the Republic.

Another Southern Democratic organ, the Knoxville "Sentinel," affirms:

The Congressmen who have been trying to force his [the President's] hand with resolutions forbidding Americans to exercise their legal right to travel have taken counsel of their fears, and fear is never a safe counselor.

The President's support comes from his political opponents as well as from his political supporters. The Washington "Times," for example, a Progressive paper, says:

Senators and Representatives of his [the President's] party cannot command a sufficient following either in the Senate or in the House to pass a resolution that would compel or influence or even request the President to take up with this Berlin doctrine. The Republicans in Congress will take care of that.

And the Chicago "Post" (Prog.):

The President will find support from the ablest men in both parties if he stands firmly

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by American rights. It is encouraging to see evidences that a spirit of sterner resoluteness has entered his soul. Possibly the spectacle of Congress suffering from a near panic will convince him that the policy of scuttle has wrought a perilous demoralization, and that it is now time to stiffen the pliant vertebræ and inject a little iron into the blood of the Nation.

Among Republican papers, the Topeka "Capital," for example, speaks as follows—and its utterance is the more noteworthy because the editor of the "Capital" is now Governor of Kansas:

If the Democratic majority in Congress has betrayed the country by scuttling on the Administration's submarine policy, Republicans can come to the front, minority though they are, and win the Nation's thanks by standing by the President in his controversy with Berlin. The Democratic revolt Wednesday, with the threat from the party leaders to pass a resolution over the President's head forbidding American citizens from travel on belligerent merchantmen, is a suggestion of how demoralized this Nation's policy might have been by this time had Congress been in session last summer and fall. The attitude of the Democratic Senate and House, from the accounts that have come from Washington, is a peace-at-any-price attitude with a vengeance. . . .

Another well-known Republican paper, the Minneapolis "Journal," thus comments:

There is good news from Washington. The Presidential backbone is in place again. . . . The President, thank Heaven, is both braver and wiser than his party. His letter to Senator Stone is perhaps the most courageous act of his Administration. . . .

Fortunately, the President has not to rely wholly upon his own party. Fortunately, the Republican minority forms a better, a more loyal, a more patriotic support than his own party. . . .

The issue is clear. The question is whether the United States is to stand firm for the rights of neutrals, for international law as it is universally accepted, or whether it is going to permit Germany to override the law and justice. Shall we, as the President puts it, maintain "our hitherto proud position as spokesmen, even amidst the turmoil of war, for the law and the right," or shall we abdicate it in favor of the Bryan policy of scuttle?

An independent journal, the Philadelphia "Ledger," thus sums up the situation:

We have no quarrel with the pacificists. Their motives, we doubt not, are good. But their method of achieving the result at which they aim is, we are convinced, utterly and damnably bad. They know what they want, but they do not know how to get it. They are playing with dynamite as if it were a Fourth-of-July spitter. The point has been reached when they must be curbed at Washington lest they bring about the very thing they seek to avoid.

We are the sole great force for peace and charity and civilization left in the world. Our fearlessness must be beyond suspicion if we are not to be dragged into the whirlpool of blood and slaughter.

THE PRE-NOMINATION CAMPAIGN

THE WILSON ADMINISTRATION

STAFF CORRESPONDENCE BY FREDERICK M. DAVENPORT

THE further I write into this correspondence about the President, the surer I am that a sympathetic interpretation of the things which have really been done by the Wilson Administration is needed. The clash over the foreign policy and the overhanging menace of the war have rendered many persons deaf and blind to some excellent domestic developments that are altogether for the good of the long future of the country. If you are looking at it on the merits, without regard to the exigency of opposing partisanship, certainly the present Administration is not altogether unpatriotic and inefficient! I am not discouraging keen and active criticism of the Wilson Administration. I think it needs it. But I think the attack has been somewhat overdone. It seems very difficult for political criticism in the United States to discriminate between what is fair and strong and what is merely denunciatory. It does us good once in a while to recall that history records with disfavor much of the fierceness of denunciation which has always been an unworthy part of

(*Continued on page following illustrations*)

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Current Events Pictorially Treated

THE FLIGHT OF NIGHT, BY PAUL MANSHIP

See editorial pages for comment on Mr. Manship's art

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THE COLONNA MADONNA, BY RAPHAEL, RECENTLY PRESENTED BY MR. MORGAN TO THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM IN NEW YORK

See editorial pages for an account of this remarkable picture, one of the most famous paintings ever brought to America

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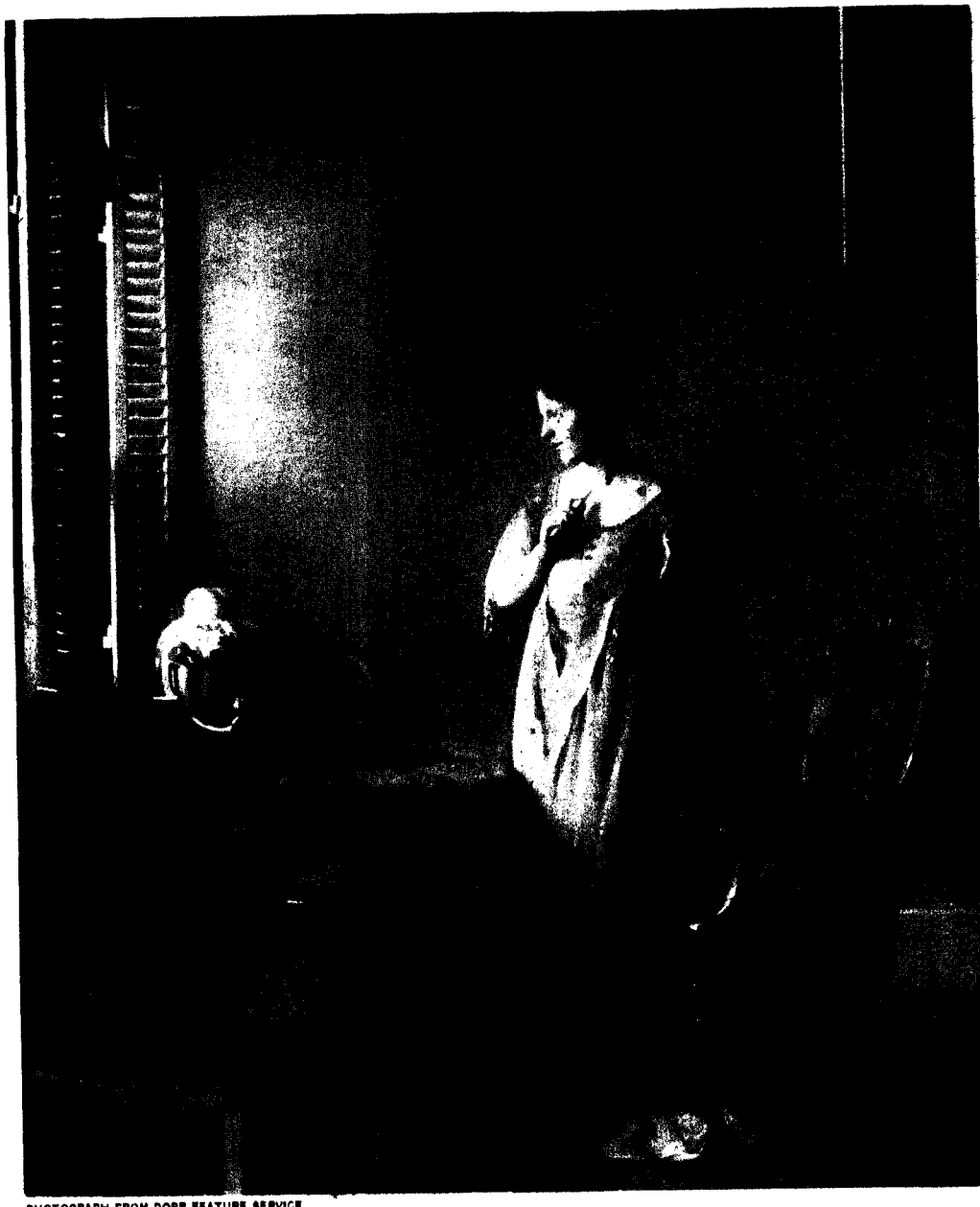

PHOTOGRAPH FROM DORR FEATURE SERVICE

THE LETTER

This painting, by William M. Paxton, has attracted much attention in the current exhibition of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia. Some critics have found in it a suggestion of Vermeer, the celebrated Dutch artist

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THE LIVING CARYATIDES

Not a marble sculpture, but a tableau of living figures which formed a scene in Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont's play "Melinda and Her Sisters," as presented recently at the Waldorf Astoria before a large audience. The play is described as a "suffrage operetta"

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MODEL OF THE SHAFT OF THE AZTEC FOUNTAIN OF THE PAN-AMERICAN BUILDING AT WASHINGTON

The model for the shaft of this fountain, which is the work of Mrs. Gertrude V. Whitney, has recently been on exhibition at Mrs. Whitney's studio in New York City

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PHOTOGRAPH BY FEATURE PHOTO SERVICE

ARMS AND THE MAN

The German military authorities prohibit the carrying of arms by civilians in enemy territory occupied by them. The young Frenchman standing before this military court has violated the rule and has been brought to trial for his offense. A witness stands by the sentry. This lifelike scene has doubtless been enacted on many occasions during the present conflict and will no doubt be a subject for the artist in the aftertimes when memories of the great war shall form a tragical theme for the historical painter

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ITALIAN ARTILLERYMEN BRINGING THEIR GUNS TO THE FRONT IN THE DOLOMITES

The hardships of war are multiplied when nature interposes difficulties such as are suggested in the above photograph. The scene is described as in the lower altitudes of the Dolomites, about 3,000 feet above sea-level, but affording a commanding position when held by modern artillery

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Thi

Not one man in a th
realize the dangerc
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trouble. And yet,
was not only dange
cal—the marvel is
so long! Another
may ruin some of
trees. Have them e

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·ee *seemed* perfect

-but *hidden* decay was ruining it

The wonderful beauty of this linden was amed for miles around. Scores of tree lovers who came to see it pronounced it a model of ree perfection. The magnificent spread of its uxuriant foliage, as well as the external appearnce of its trunk and limbs (see photograph A) uggested to the casual observer nothing but ealth and sturdy strength.

But one day a Davey tree surgeon, at work n the place, stopped to examine it. He saw hat its crotches were V-shaped—in practically very case a sure sign of hidden decay. And o it proved—the crotches had been split by vind strain, water had entered the crevices and ecay had started. Nature had healed over he wounds *on the surface*, but decay continued o eat its way down through the trunk. The eal condition of the tree—revealed by a little hiseling—is shown in photograph B. It was o utterly weakened that it would have been n easy victim for any severe storm! The narvel is that it had stood so long.

What is the real condition of YOUR trees? Are they, unknown to you, rapidly succumbing o hidden agents of destruction? There is only ne SAFE place to go to find out—to DAVEY TREE SURGEONS.

The SAFE Tree Surgeons

When you go to Davey you take the dependable and permanently satisfying course. It is the SAFE tree surgery, because it is scientifically accurate and mechanically perfect; because it is backed by a responsible business house that requires *quality-first* work always; because it saves trees without guessing and experimenting; because it is practiced by a well-organized body of men who are finished experts; because of a successful record of performance spanning a life-time; and because the methods of vital importance are protected by U. S. patents and used exclusively by the Davey Tree Expert Co.

Read what John R. Hegeman says:

"The work done by you at my place during the last several months has been in all respects satisfactory. You seem to have an unusual body of men in your service—in love with trees—fond of their work—very intelligent and industrious—courteous and exemplary in conduct—doing their work with rare skill and neatness—and altogether worthy of commendation."—JOHN R. HEGEMAN, President of The Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., New York.

In our files are hundreds of similarly enthusiastic letters from prominent estate owners everywhere. The United States Government, after an exhaustive investigation, officially chose Davey experts as best.

Have your trees examined now!

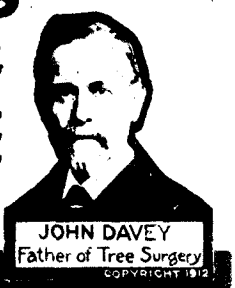
Learn their real condition and needs from this expert source without charge. Write today for free examination and booklet illustrating Davey Tree Surgery.

Davey Tree Surgeons

The Davey Tree Expert Co., 126 Elm St., Kent, O.

(Operating the Davey Institute of Tree Surgery) *Accredited representatives available between Kansas City and Boston.*

Permanent representatives located at Boston, Albany, White Plains, N. Y., Stamford, Conn., Jamaica, L. I., Newark, N. J., Philadelphia, Washington, Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, Cincinnati, Chicago, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, St. Louis, and Kansas City.



very year of neglect adds 10% to 25% to the cost of saving trees

Advertisement

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SKI-ING IN SWEDEN

This healthful and invigorating sport is popular in the Scandinavian countries not merely with the athletes who perform the spectacular feats often photographed, but with the every-day man and woman, as shown in the above picture. Ski-ing is also becoming a favorite pastime in American winter resorts

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SKATING IN AMERICA

Outdoor winter sports are popular this year on both sides of the ocean in the countries that are at peace, as indicated in the pictures on this and the preceding page. The last lap of the five-mile handicap race in the speed skating contest at Newburgh, New York, is pictured in the above photograph, which effectively reproduces the wintry setting of this exciting sport

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GREAT BRITAIN'S UNFAILING FOOD RESOURCES IN HER COLONIES

The picture shows a great herd of Australian sheep that are destined for food for England and her armies. The present war has evoked unbounded patriotism in Great Britain's colonies throughout the world, and their resources in men, money, and food supplies are all at the command of the Government of the Empire. Incidentally, this photograph has a timely suggestiveness in view of recently published statistics showing that the world's sheep outnumber any other domestic four-footed animal

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FRENCH ARTILLERY IN EGYPT, WHERE THE ALLIES ARE PREPARING TO DEFEND THE SUEZ CANAL

A century ago, through the loss of the Battle of the Nile, the French under Napoleon were forced by the English to withdraw from Egypt. Now they are again in Egypt as the stanch allies of their former foe

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PHOTOGRAPH FROM FEATURE PHOTO SERVICE

A GERMAN PRINCESS AND HER SON

Princess Victoria of Schleswig-Holstein, who married the Kaiser's fourth son, Prince August Wilhelm, in 1908, is seen in the picture holding in her arms their son, Alexander Ferdinand, born in 1913

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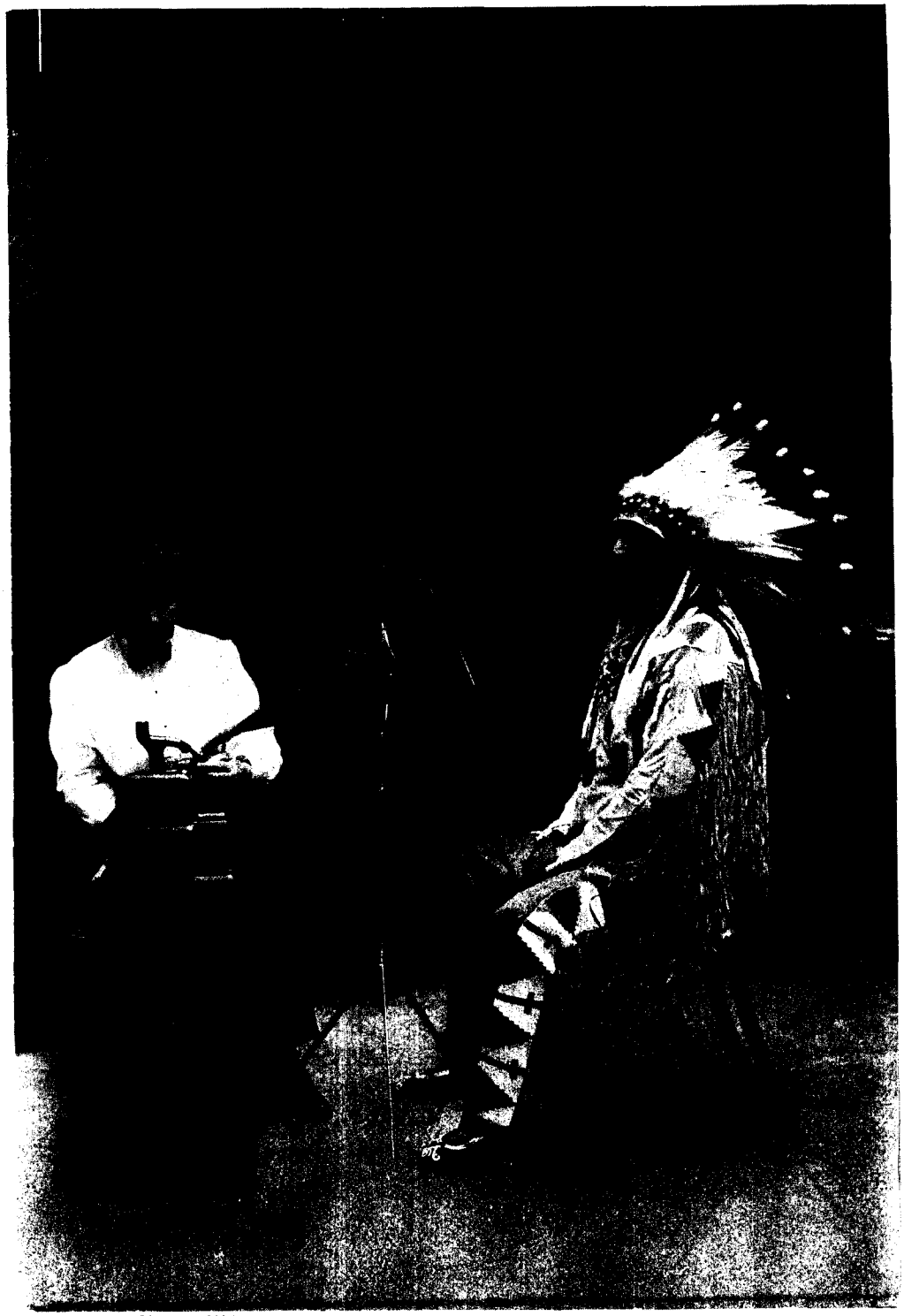

PHOTOGRAPH FROM PAUL THOMPSON

RECORDING THE SONGS OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS

The Government is endeavoring to preserve for future generations the war songs and legends of the Indians, and phonograph records of these rapidly disappearing links that bind the Indians to their past are being made at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington. The Indian in the picture is a chief of the Blackfeet tribe

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CARDINAL MERCIER, OF BELGIUM, ON HIS VISIT TO ROME

The patriotic Cardinal recently went to Rome, under a safe-conduct from the German authorities, to have an audience with the Pope

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the political life of America, especially at times of National stress when extraordinary burdens have been put upon the shoulders of high officers of Government. Washington said once in a Cabinet meeting that he would rather be in his grave than be President of the United States, and earlier in his career army and Congressional cabal followed him to the loneliness and depression of Valley Forge. Lincoln never had a moment's comfort in the Presidency until August and September of '64, and then it came under cover of the guns of Grant, the daring of Farragut, and the march of Sherman to the sea. He never got much peace or cheer from either his leading political associates or his leading political opponents—that is, not until after he was dead. The flowers fell on his coffin. And men of less degree than Washington and Lincoln have fared as ill in America. It is our way, but we have no reason to be proud of it.

And now to take up the thread where I left it last week. The President has learned that there is something besides the tariff needed to protect and strengthen American manufacturers against foreign unfair competition. Let us take for example the activity of the German cartel, a combination of manufacturers authorized by the German Government who agree to underbid in the American market any price which any American manufacturer can make. They are permitted at home to act jointly by law, they have certain preferential rates on Government railways for shipments, they may enhance their price in other localities than America, they are allowed to pool their losses if there are any in the period during which they are driving their American competitors out of the world market. This is the disaster that threatens the infant American dyestuff industry after the war. With the help of the Government, Germany is likely to dump large quantities of dyestuffs upon our market regardless of tariff or cost, in order to drive the newly developed American competition out of the field. What good does a protective duty do under these circumstances? It is simply absorbed by the cartel.

When the European struggle is over, we may expect to meet frightfulness in industry in the place of frightfulness in battle. The President believes that the competing power of Germany will be reduced by her great economic losses, but none the less that such government-aided monopoly is a menace which no tariff measure can reach. A bill has already been introduced into Congress making it necessary for each one of the big foreign concerns to have a responsible agent in this country. And then the bill would hold the agent to a rigid obedience of our own law with respect to monopolistic combinations. And another remedy is the full Australian system forbidding the importation of such monopolistic goods; following the precedent of opium, the importation of which is forbidden. There is no doubt that the Congress of the United States has absolute power over foreign commerce. And the agents of our own Government abroad, of the Department of Justice, the Department of State, and the Department of Commerce, may upon investigation advise against the certification of an invoice for shipment to America.

And so the President believes that we have made great advances in the understanding of the tariff problem under his Administration. We are at last willing to protect the wage rate, but nothing else. We are not willing to protect inefficiency. We have learned the certain need of an expert tariff board, and we are probably going to have one. We have learned also that the tariff barrier may be no protection at all, and that under certain circumstances "there ain't no such animal" as protection, and that other and more stringent restrictions must be devised to safeguard the manufactures of the United States. In a country in which political progress moves slowly at best, all this is a real gain.

But what shall I say of the Philippines and of Mexico? I sometimes wonder whether a thoroughgoing democratic ideal, even though imperfectly realized at home, is not disqualified by its very nature from understanding and dealing with less advanced peoples. I think not, in the long run. The American people have given altogether too little consideration to foreign affairs, but I believe the instinct of the American democracy is sound even about the Philippines and Mexico. But there is no field of policy in which democratic theory is so likely to go astray. The romantic sentiment about weaker peoples struggling for freedom—how it frequently captured the imagination of Gladstone! And yet what a mess he made of Gordon at Khartum! In foreign policy this prince of the English democracy was not the equal in efficiency of his grim old Conservative competitor, Disraeli. Disraeli was never haunted by specters

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of democratic idealism at home or abroad. But his Abyssinian *coup d'état* in the '50s of the nineteenth century is a model. A representative English subject was imprisoned by the King of Abyssinia in the fortress of Magdala without cause assigned. Disraeli sought to discover the cause, but without success. He thereupon embarked ten thousand British troops upon transports and ships of war, under the leadership of General Napier. They landed on the east coast of Africa, marched across the desert to the foot of the hill on which the fortress stood, and demanded its surrender. Upon refusal, they stormed and took the fortress, the King of Abyssinia killing himself with his own pistol. Then they reached down into the dungeon and drew up that one British subject, marched back across the desert, embarked again upon the transports and ships of war, and returned the British captive to his home in safety. That expedition cost Great Britain ten million dollars, and made General Napier Lord Napier of Magdala. But for a generation the person and property of a British subject were safer anywhere in the world than the person and property of the subject of any other country.

And so your thoroughgoing domestic democrat in the United States and your thoroughgoing and efficient leader in foreign policy seem to be two different men. I can think of two or three great individuals who are either one or the other, who would be genuinely powerful in one field or the other. But I can think of only one man who is at the same time a thoroughgoing democrat and who has proved himself also a thoroughgoing and capable administrator of foreign affairs. And he became a radical democrat only as the result of his seven years' experience in the Presidency.

Mr. Bryan is, of course, typical of the kind of democratic leadership which is without insight in dealing with alien peoples in the earlier stages of human development. He seems lacking in comprehension of how little the doctrine of the consent of the governed means when applied to a Negrito or a Villa bandit. And of course it is the Bryan element in the Democratic Administration which is fiercest to muddle foreign policy in Colombia, in the Philippines, or in Mexico. I acquit Mr. Bryan of thinking clearly in this realm.

But there is no doubt about the President's capacity to think it through. And while the Colombian and Philippine matters, at least, are not concluded, and while there is yet time for that deliberate modification of previous judgment which has so finely characterized the President in some matters, yet I am sure that his path of diplomacy in the Philippines and in Mexico has been blazed with the same ax. The opinion of the Dutch expert, Hendrik Colijn, about the Malay nature and its incapacity for administration for generations to come, moves him not at all. He believes that the Filipinos should be advanced rapidly into complete self-government; that it is far safer to try the experiment than to keep them longer as our wards. There is an element of caution also in his conclusion. The Philippines he would regard as a center of irritation and instability for us in the Pacific. But it is also the straightforward application of a radical and, to my mind, illogical democratic theory.

In Mexico I would not undertake to explain Tampico and Vera Cruz by either the milder democratic or the strong-arm theory of diplomacy. I think they were a mistake upon either theory. But the President may extract a good deal of comfort from reading the letters of John Hay and finding how frank Lincoln was about the blunders he made in the conduct of the earlier operations of the Civil War. And the President is a philosopher.

But, nevertheless, in his dealings with Mexico, as in the Philippines, we find the same mixture of caution and extreme democratic theory. Of caution, because he has had constantly to bear in mind what the peoples to the south would think of us if we should enter Mexico to govern. It is a grave question. Central and South America are extremely sensitive. And if we are to be leaders in a united Americanism, if we are to have the support of sister republics in the defense of the Monroe Doctrine, the President believes we should move with care.

And again, at bottom, the President has been swayed by his genuine democratic sentiment. He entered upon his own particular form of restricted intervention upon the theory that there was a real democratic movement seething in Mexico, and that the movement should have our sympathy and a measure of support. Whether it will all turn out to be a mixture of blunder, caution, and untenable democratic theory, or whether, upon the whole, the course of statesmanship and foresight, will depend very much upon the

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outcome of the Carranza experiment. There are some of us who go to sleep every night with the premonition of another explosion. Here's hoping that we are wrong.

I have always felt that Mr. Wilson had rather the better of it in the debates against the Progressives over trust regulation in 1912. And I must have been unprejudiced in the matter, because I remember I was very much nettled about it. And it was not because at bottom Mr. Wilson was any nearer right about it than the actual Progressive position. The fact is, the trust regulation programme was the one part of the Progressive platform about which the Progressives themselves during the campaign were at odds with one another.

The President contended at the time that the hope of the country in its relation to large business organization lay in seeking to regulate competition rather than in seeking to regulate monopoly. And this view has been written into the Clayton and the Federal Trade Commission Acts of Congress. And the President holds now that, in the case of Germany, for example, the attempt to build up Government-aided monopolies and to regulate monopoly is a part of the whole frightful tendency of the mighty twentieth-century industrial and political monarchy which that country has built up. The President thinks that we should strive to get the efficiency of Germany without the monarchical tendencies against freedom which have gone with it in Germany. Just as we must seek to democratize our military preparedness, so we must seek to democratize our industrial preparedness, that we may lay hold of the good and shun the evil of the German system.

There has been some quiet but very effective work done by the Federal Trade Commission under the eye of the President, of which the country as yet knows very little. The purpose of the Commission has been not to harass but to help. It has proceeded upon the theory that the period of propagandism has expired and the period of construction has begun; that the commissioners are the traffic policemen of inter-State commerce who are trying to establish the rules of the road in order that commerce may flow fairly and freely.

Let me give one of many concrete illustrations of the manner in which the Commission is regulating competition by giving quick relief and adapting the remedy expeditiously to the disease. A little sugar refining company was recently suffering from unfair method at the hands of a great sugar concern. The big concern was sending into the little concern's territory an inferior grade of sugar and cleverly branding it in such a way as to lead customers as well as the trade to believe that it was a fine granulated article, whereas it was an "off" sugar, in the production of which an expensive part of the refining process was omitted. The little company had to meet the lower price with its honestly branded product. It was being forced rapidly to the wall. It filed a complaint with the Commission that it had already lost forty or fifty thousand dollars, that it could not stand the pressure if it had to wait for litigation. The Commission went at once into the case and thought there was reasonable cause for complaint. It sent word directly to the managing officials of the big concern. It did not hale them into court. It asked them if they had anything to say. If they had, the Commission would be glad to hear them. The big concern had something to say. And this was it: "Neither as to this complainant nor any other complainant shall we be guilty of such practice again." It was all over in a few weeks. The little concern was saved from bankruptcy and the big concern from disgrace and the error of its ways.

Here is another important feature. A great many persons go to the Commission and say: "You have within your jurisdiction the Clayton Act, which prevents price discrimination, tying contracts, interlocking stockholdings and directorships. Here is a form of contract we propose to use. Is this a violation of the law?" If the case is clear, if it is legal, the Commission say so. If it is not legal, the Commission say so. They also say: "This is simply an opinion, a conference ruling, a private judgment. If anybody is injured and a complaint is filed, we will take the matter up *de novo* and hear from all sides. Otherwise, what we have told you will stand as a precedent." That is, the Trade Commission is following exactly in line with the Inter-State Commerce Commission and its practice since 1907. The Inter-State Commerce Commission has issued approximately four hundred conference rulings which are no more than expressions of private judgment, but which relieve possibilities of doubt. And the method has been tremendously successful and is universally approved.

And the Commission is accumulating a vast amount of opinion from the different

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corporations of the country, the size, the degree of integration, the percentage of success and failure in the industry, the total output, the consumption for a given period—the barometer in that particular industry. The trouble with small business concerns is that they go blindly. They do not know how much to produce, how much the market will absorb. And they have no means of knowing. And unless there is some Governmental agency to give them the information they need, they are driven to combination in order that they may be able voluntarily and wisely to restrict their output and prevent the large percentage of unnecessary failures in the industry.

And just this week there comes out a valuable investigation of the Commission of an intensive economic character, a report on the cost of transporting oil in pipe lines in the mid-continent field which produces sixty to eighty per cent of the total oil of the country. Here are thousands of miles of pipe lines which were made common carriers in 1906 by the Hepburn Act, but which have never been properly regulated, because nobody has known anything about them. Now the Inter-State Commerce Commission will have some light. And the Trade Commission has found out, after making liberal allowance for items of depreciation, cost, and reasonable profit, that these pipe lines are charging three times as much as they should, and that they make a minimum requirement of twenty-five thousand barrels a day before they will take on a customer. And the little fellows are squeezed out. They cannot afford to build their own pipe lines, and they cannot afford to patronize the far more expensive railway transportation. This is not the report of yellow journalism. It does not seek the front page. It is couched in conservative language. But the facts are startling.

This again is a continuation of the splendid work of Garfield, and Herbert Knox Smith, and Conant, under President Roosevelt. There is a continuity of efficiency and progress. But the drift in the Wilson Administration is powerful and thoroughgoing. For example, it has been determined that there is vast waste in the lumber and soft coal industries. Twenty-six per cent of the timber is left to decay under the unregulated cutthroat competition which prevails. When overproduction comes, and the price of lumber goes down, the producers take the timber easiest to get and the coal easiest to mine. And what is left behind is so left as to be practically worthless. And there are many failures, and many plants are shut down for a good portion of the year. And the facts are driving the Wilson Administration rapidly towards the regulation of monopoly or to Government ownership *in the case of the great primary resources.* In spite of all the fine theories about the regulation of competition as a panacea, in spite of the "New Freedom," the great lumbermen agree, in conference with representatives of the Administration, that even a rigid fixing of prices would help their industry. Not far away from Gary and Perkins in the case of the primary resources! But the Wilson Administration holds that where men have taken these primary resources upon fair terms, and have used their ingenuity, and have contributed something to society in work upon them, these men are entitled to freedom. The chasm is narrowing, and it may soon become evident that the Progressives and the Democrats are only complements of one another in the matter of trust regulation, and that experience will bring both into economic harmony. As, indeed, sooner or later, it will bring all parties except the Socialists.

The economics of the Wilson Administration is broadening as it garners the experience of the world. It would be willing to modify the Sherman Act in accordance with the Australian policy or the Canadian policy. It would grasp the spirit, but would disengage American industry from the binding fetters of the legal letter, of the Sherman Act. It would make the test of whether a combination is lawful to be its economic effect upon the public interest, and not those legal words of delusion and folly known as "restraint of trade." As the President has frequently said, his view is not necessarily antithetical to big units in industry. It is a question of degree. It is a question of conserving the efficiencies of large-scale production, and at the same time conserving individual and social freedom. Outside the public utilities and the primary resources, if you choke freedom, you have monopoly, which is another name for industrial monarchy. And universal regulated monopoly leads inevitably to State Socialism, which will destroy both democracy and freedom.

I have found a great difference of opinion as to the kind of party leader that the President has been. It seems to me that he has

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been generally very astute and efficient. Mr. Wilson has made in other years close study of responsible Anglo-Saxon leadership, and his purpose has been never to get far from the model of the British Prime Minister, who leads by force of the majority opinion of his associates. So in every important matter the President has dealt with Congress. We must remember also that he had nothing whatever to do with making the party organization which faced him in the country and in Congress. Mr. Bryan and his lieutenants were the makers of a large section of the so-called progressive Democracy which swooped down upon Washington in 1913. And there were spots in it that were far from progressive. It is not easy to forget Mr. Taggart, Mr. Murphy, and others of their sort. Neither the honest but often irresponsible Bryan influence nor the coarser element of the party machine has been easy to control. And the criticism of the President is with respect to his handling of both elements. Bryan, it is said, has carried morsels to "deserving Democrats" until, with a few notable exceptions, the foreign service has severely suffered in prestige at home and abroad. And the great and necessary work of breaking down the power and the intrigue of the baser portions of the Democratic machine in New York, in Indiana, in Pennsylvania, has not gone forward. Rather has Bryan himself in Pennsylvania, and the President himself in New York and Indiana, given clear evidence of a purpose to placate to the full the old order, which in other days both have derided and defied.

The path of the President, as he has sought to accomplish his purposes, has been thorny and difficult. The path of any President of the United States is thorny and difficult if he seeks to accomplish great good for the country. And even a near approach to ideal perfection is not to be expected of any man. The President is naturally a strong party adherent, and under his Administration there has been up to the present time a strong revival of partisanism. He is a political pragmatist at home, just as he has been a diplomatic pragmatist abroad. He has needed the Bryan men and the Taggart men in Congress to fulfill his plans for the country.

But in nothing has his practical intelligence and astuteness seemed clearer to his supporters than in his refusing to line up with Garrison rather than with the majority of his associates in Congress. The continental army plan was on the rocks. It seemed to Washington to mean conscription before it could be put into successful operation. And in the temper of the country it appeared likely to require a trained continental army to go out and get the raw material for a continental army from among the farmers of Wisconsin and the Middle West. And the Bryan men in Congress would have none of it, anyway. And so the President chose the path of patient, practical fulfillment of the best he could obtain rather than the path of what he regarded as impractical idealism and disaster.

Mr. Barnes, of New York, is reported to be thinking that any good Republican can beat Mr. Wilson. The calm and final verdict of the National electorate may surprise Mr. Barnes. Even the trenchant criticism of Mr. Root's speech finally arouses something of the reaction of a sectional issue. The sources of the Ohio and the Mississippi are not stirred. And more and more the enormous difficulty and complexity of the problem of adequate preparedness which the country and the President have to face is giving denunciation pause, or at least is distributing the burden of reproach more equitably. Only recently I have seen an entirely friendly but serious article by one of his followers impugning the capacity of Mr. Roosevelt to compass the breadth and the height of the problem, and calling upon him to extend the range of his ideas with respect to the Nationalization of America. Will not the sober sense of the American people measure these unfair taunts of its great leaders by the vast magnitude of vision made necessary by the revelations of our time? And may it not be that the country will look with more kindly eye upon even the shortcomings of the Wilson Administration than Mr. Barnes and his associates are inclined to predict? Certain it is that the President represents a point of view in National and even in international affairs which has in the United States millions of supporters. Perhaps majority millions. At any rate, if the opponents of President Wilson believe that he is even likely to be defeated except by the strongest candidate who can be named against him, they are, in my judgment, hopelessly deluded.

Washington.

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THE NATIONS AT WAR

BELGIUM IN HOLLAND

BY SANFORD GRIFFITH

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT OF THE OUTLOOK

A WHEEZY hurdy-gurdy ground and reground the *aria* of "Robert le Diable." To the clash of a large pair of cymbals in the hands of a puppet on the front of the vehicle closely crowded couples circled about the small inclosure with that same stolid seriousness with which they had danced eighteen months before to the same melody in the narrow streets of Antwerp. Youngsters from the toddling age up all waited gravely at each pause for Robert to "rediable." This evening dance was now a doubly important event in the refugee camp of Gouda, because it was the only recreation.

In these refugee camps are the majority of the seventy thousand Belgians who have been unable or who are unwilling to return to their own country. The truck-gardening region about Gouda has become a well-known refuge. Many found shelter in the elaborate hot-houses, others were received into the homes of the people, and many had to content themselves with barns and workshops until more adequate accommodations could be provided. A tin manufacturer of the town undertook the direction of the camp.

Water-troughs in the greenhouses were readily adapted into lavatories, and plant stands softened by straw sacking make excellent beds. Every family has the semblance of a *chez-soi* in a 6 × 8 cardboard inclosure.

One of the houses serves as a nursery—a most important consideration in such a large Flemish household. Another is a long social room, where at night, over large cups of coffee-chicory, the game of dominoes, suddenly broken off in September, 1914, is resumed and the interim forgotten.

Ede is the model village, or rather villages, because this refugee community has been separated into four parts. Built by Belgian labor, with materials that are the generous gifts of Dutch, Danish, English, and American donors, the camp is so permanently constructed that after the war it can serve as an ideal Dutch industrial community. There is central heating, lighting, and a large mechanical laundry, the particular pride of the Flemish housewives who work there. Each village, however, has its own schools, churches, and hospitals. The sandy heath has been reclaimed by the profuse planting of some hardy yellow flowering plant, so that now each dooryard has its own small garden.

One old lady welcomed us into her little 6 × 8 with all the grace of a hostess in a grand *salon*. In the course of our conversation, as she told of her flight from the little town of Contich, in the suburbs of Antwerp, she glanced from time to time at the cherished objects she had brought with her—a molting canary and a framed wreath of feather flowers. Though her family is scattered, she lives in daily expectation that she may go back.

In many of the camps Catholic sisters do much of the hospital work and care for the children. At Gouda some of the Ursulines took us with touching pride into their bare pine-wood chapel. When they heard that we were going to Belgium, they were eager that we tell the Order at Bruges what they were doing. The writer suggested a picture. Such naïve pleasure! They crowded primly before the camera, but—*O vanitas feminæ*—several stopped in the corridor to give an extra pat to their white cornets.

The Friends Society has given cottages so constructed that after the war they can be transported to Belgium. These have been awarded to families who through their thrift have proved themselves particularly deserving. Many more of these houses are needed.

The fact that the people come, most of them, from the poorer parts of Flanders along the Scheldt, where illiteracy is greatest, makes the problem of education a considerable one. In addition to many elementary courses, classes have been organized in connection with the children's clinics in domestic hygiene and household economy. The novelty is such that it is impossible to accommodate all of the mothers who come.

An effort is made to keep men in their trades. Those who remain in the camps work in the wood-shops, at weaving, and at shoemaking. Of the first five men of whom I asked their former trade, two were dock-hands, one was a shoemaker, and two had none. Those who had a trade retain their deftness, those

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who have none learn. Here and there in all of the camps sat groups of peasant women exchanging gossip, enjoying the sunlight, and making their native lace. At Gouda was a "Rockerfellow Saal" with a hundred American sewing-machines. The workers there clothe the entire community.

In some of the camps we were struck by a poverty which excellent organization in others had managed to hide. At Nunspeet, near the Zuider Zee, were over ten thousand of these refugees. Through necessity the camp had been hastily constructed. The dormitories, named after famous statesmen, where families, streets, and towns had tended to drift back into their old molds, were dark and overcrowded. There were few books, and the children at play had to content themselves with the muddy roads. The people seemed despondent, and many would sit for hours silent and expressionless. The camera was a slight distraction. Fond mothers gathered excitedly as many of their scattered broods as they could crowd into the picture.

Some years ago a social worker in Liège exclaimed to me: "If only we could get the people out of this crowded factory environment for a time, we could do wonders. They are industrious, plodding, but they lack imagination. Give us an upheaval." His prayer has been answered, though hardly as he expected.

DUTCH INTERNMENT CAMPS

"We were lying in the fort. The first shell put out our lighting service. The second killed the colonel and about forty of the men. Our guns were loosened in the cement and could not get the range. We were so many rats in a trap. We started north from Antwerp on a Friday. They cut us off at Maldegem, and so here we are."

In one form or another this is the story of most of the fortress troops, and there are over thirty thousand Belgians interned in Holland. To speak of the people as apart from the soldiers would be to emphasize a non-existent distinction. A few months ago a staff officer gave an illustrated lecture on the military operations of those last days. Jan for the first time concluded that the Kaiser might have had some other preoccupation than exclusively Jan's particular fortress, or that it may not have been the Prussian Imperial Guard which overwhelmed his particular regiment.

We visited, among other of the camps, Zeist. A once haughty sergeant of grenadiers, now with his *galons* the color of French mustard and his *sabots* filled with straw, showed us about. There was not a complete uniform in the camp. Grenadiers, *fantassins*, chasseurs, all wore some distinguishing mark, but all lacked something. There was no martial air. These were simply a few thousand peasants and factory hands who found themselves suddenly on a battlefield with guns in their hands confronted by an overwhelming army. Hard, continuous fighting sent them finally across the frontier dazed and frightened. After such hardships they fell into a sort of lethargy. They found themselves indefinitely in enforced idleness. There was not work for every one, and many of those for whom it was provided seemed to have lost all taste for it.

They wandered about—to use the words of one of the directors—"like so many cattle." I have seen forty of them stand about a pigeon-hatch watching the bird walk in and out. A hundred men would idle about a game of bowls, and as many more would sit on their benches and doze. Others chafed at this idleness. They organized an orchestra, a theatrical club, choral societies. There were singers from the operas of Brussels and Paris. I recall a very successful production of "Faust" at Harderwijk where the scenery, the costumes, and even some of the instruments were "home" made. Box seats were five cents. Others find their only distraction in whittling. Boards disappeared from the waste-baskets, glass from the windows, to be deftly converted into inlaid boxes, windmills, boats, and puppets. Soup-bones are as *recherché* as pearls from an oyster and are rapidly converted into paper-knives and napkin-rings. One soldier painted a masterly series of pieces for the altar, and another was completing some interesting studies for the canteen.

It is only recently that the problem of education has been taken seriously in hand. With a donation from King Albert of $2,000, as much from the city of Brussels, and a few paltry donations, a beginning was made. Teachers, for the most part, were in the ambulance service, and as such were permitted to return to the front. In the camps there were many volunteers. Bank clerks undertook courses in elementary mathematics, French, and English. In one class in geometry there were some forty railway employees, with a former consulting engineer as their

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instructor. There was no equipment but the blackboard, not even slates enough to go around. Instead of the usual four cents a day, these instructors receive certain small privileges and a remuneration of fifteen cents a day. It is estimated that the cost per soldier for six months is one dollar.

It is hoped to pass every illiterate through a class in elementary reading and writing. In one crowded room were youths of eighteen to men of nearer fifty, all loudly repeating the alphabet.

The general courses are designed to have some direct bearing on the different trades. For example, there are courses for stonecutters, for metal-workers, for electricians, for farmers, and in some of the camps advanced study in decorative arts, mechanical engineering, and horticulture.

For these thirty-two thousand men, without work, no longer skilled in their trades, to return to impoverished Belgium after the war would be a positive menace. It is with a growing realization of this danger that an appeal is made for the co-operation of any who are interested in this work.

SOCIALISM AFTER THE WAR

BY HENRY W. JESSUP
OF THE NEW YORK BAR

ONE gets the impression from the tone in which many writers treat the topic that to express any but a critical opinion of Socialism is to categorize one's self as a Socialist and incur the distrust of one's associates. Yet to discuss the natures or habits of *feræ natural* has never exposed our great naturalists to cognate criticism. As a boy the reading of Wood's Natural History, with its fascinating stories illustrating the ferocity of the black leopard or of the hyena at bay, never led me to attribute to the author any inhuman characteristics.

Of course no one can study Socialism without seeing its possibilities in the evolution of human society. Alexander Johnston, at Princeton in the early '80s, in his lectures on political economy, used to assert that if one admitted the advantages of ultimate freedom of intercourse, unrestricted by tax or impost, between States, he was a "potential" free-trader. So one may be a "potential Socialist" without immediately leaving his pedestal of aloofness or withdrawing his ostrich head from its sheltering sand.

A friend of mine was once subjected to a practical joke at an Adirondack camp dinner where X, a distinguished Socialist (university model) was present. With the coffee the host arose and announced that he had a pleasant treat in store; that my friend, whom I may call A (as a known quantity), had repeatedly asserted that if he ever met X he could show him the fallacy of his Socialistic views in no time.

A, unwarned of this stroke, was, however game. He rose to the occasion. All he asked, in view of the unexpected opportunity, he said, was that there should be a preliminary definition of terms, that the discussion might avoid cross purposes. He begged accordingly that X would first answer his inquiry, "What is Socialism?" Whereupon X talked till 11:30 P.M., when A's train was due to start!

The real Socialist appreciates the imperative need of accurate and discriminating definition. I recall a delightful talk by Victor Berger some years ago, prefaced by an introduction by a toastmaster who, after such a floundering survey of the topic as seems so dear to the heart of similar functionaries, admitted that he could not assign the speaker "to any one of the legion schools of Socialism," etc.

The guest arose and wittily retorted: "You will excuse me, gentlemen, if I speak with a German accent—Socialism is spoken with many accents; but there are only two Schools of Socialism—the Historical School, *to which I belong*—and the Hysterical School."

This Historical School has a definite programme. For the purpose of the simple suggestion below set forth, it may be summarized in the proposition: "Socialism seeks the democratization of the production and distribution of those things which Everyman needs." It does not, at least in the prospect, concern itself with things that are peculiarly individual.

It concedes to the brain of the inventor, the physician, the lawyer, the composer, a

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peculiar property in his own capacities which society must not regulate unless it is bent on stifling its own development. It proposes, however, to eliminate monopolies in the things of Everyman's every-day life. Necessities are its domain of enterprise. Luxuries it ignores.

This, it is true, is not a comprehensive definition; but it will serve as the preface to the assertion that the great war in Europe has accomplished in the most autocratic government, Germany, an object-lesson of such democratization of production and distribution. That is to say, though the moving influence was military necessity and the starting dynamic was the *ipse dixit* of a ruler, yet the experiment is in full blast, and its results must be intelligently weighed if we are to attack the problem of Socialism fairly.

However initiated, we see that the state, the embodiment of Everyman, is superseding the individuals or corporations, who are for the time being Everyman's servants, acting under perfect control, and producing and distributing primarily for the common welfare and for the salvation of the state.

If we extend our definition to include "the prevention of that which injures Everyman, and so injuriously affects the general welfare," we have a further object-lesson in the inhibition of liquor *pendente bello* by several states; an experiment which, the longer it is carried on, will the more afford reliable and convincing data on two sides of this many-faced puzzle of temperance—the one, its effect on Everyman's individual health; the other, its effect on Everyman's wealth, both individually and collectively.

No liquor sales—no internal revenue. No internal revenue—diminished governmental income.

Diminished governmental income—more direct taxes on Everyman, whose only comfort collectively will be that individually he is enriched by being forbidden to spend his money for that which is not bread.

Scholars of Socialism have a clinic before their eyes. Darwin and Huxley spent years in accumulating data as compared to months in deducing laws therefrom.

This clinic must not be wasted. The German Socialists cannot be blind to their own opportunity of observation. The American "Historical" School has the advantage of observing calmly, dispassionately, the operation of this extraordinary social experiment. Later we may await their deductions, with more confident expectation of their reasonableness as being drawn from observed conditions and recorded experience.

WEH SAO-TZE, THE MILITANT

A SKETCH OF A CHINESE HOUSEMAID

BY JEAN CARTER COCHRAN

ONE beautiful afternoon in late October the tiny living-room of our Chinese house was flooded with sunshine, which touched the soft red-stained walls and the vases of gay chrysanthemums that stood in every nook and corner. In through the casement window still other chrysanthemums shyly peeped, as if standing on tiptoe in their garden bed, full of curiosity to see what their comrades were doing within.

After a two weeks' trip in a cramped houseboat these surroundings seemed spacious indeed; so, in deep content with our surroundings, we sank into the inviting armchairs. Then suddenly our Eden was invaded. We heard the clump, clump, of a springless bound foot in the courtyard outside, the bang of a door, and then the voice of my sister-in-law, our hostess, saying:

"Weh Sao-tze, this is my mother-in-law and my sister-in-law from America."

On looking up I beheld the tallest, gauntest Chinese woman I have ever seen, making deep ceremonial bows before us.

Now mothers-in-law are held in great honor in China, but even in her desire to do respect to the aged foreign lady Weh Sao-tze could not repress her astonishment and her consternation. "Cannot they speak one word, not one little word?"

The pity and contempt in her voice needed no interpreter, though her language might. All our little store of knowledge was stripped

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from us, and for the moment we felt ourselves the inferior of this rough woman. Having once heard Chinese spoken, one forever after holds in veneration any human soul who has mastered its intricacies—no matter if such person, like Weh Sao-tze, were born to it.

All this time Weh Sao-tze was bowing before us like an automaton, and in her awkwardness she apparently filled the tiny room. She had attempted to freshen up her blue coat and untidy hair to do honor to the foreign ladies, but her unkemptness beggared description.

After the usual polite question to the mother-in-law as to her honorable age, the exclamation, "Why, I thought you were a great deal older!" was in order. Then the names and ages of the lady's sons were investigated and commented on and congratulation given upon her great happiness. At last Weh Sao-tze's hostess gave her a decided hint to withdraw, and, still shaking her head and muttering below her breath, "They can't speak a word, not a single word," she left us.

Immediately on Weh Sao-tze's disappearance the room seemed to regain its normal size, and we drew a sigh of relief to think that for the time at least the ornaments were intact.

Turning to my sister-in-law, with deep feeling, I exclaimed, "Who is Weh Sao-tze, and where did you collect such a wild specimen?"

Laughingly she replied: "You ought to have seen her when she was first caught, fresh from the country. She is to be our *amah* this winter."

"That's a pity," I murmured. "What a suffragette she would make! Everything would have to give way before her convictions."

"Yes, she is really the man of the family, and manages her husband and sons like a general. It is hard for us to realize what heathenism is until we touch people like her: she had no idea of right and wrong, informed me, in fact, frankly that the only harm in lying was in being found out. She has had twenty children, but only three are with her. In a famine year she left one baby girl under a tree to die of exposure, the other one she sold for a coat. She told me all this as though it was an every-day occurrence, as, alas! it is in this city. She was quite surprised when I exclaimed in horror.

"In the last two years she has seen a great light, and is struggling hard to overcome her fearful gusts of temper and other vices; you would respect her more if you knew her temptations. She was admitted to the church this autumn in the hope that its support would be of help."

"I can easily see that life would never be monotonous in Weh Sao-tze's vicinity," I replied. And it never was.

It was Christmas time before Weh Sao-tze really mastered the rudiments of housework; by that day she had learned the surprising facts that sheets belong next the mattress and not on top of the spread, that even husband and wife might not take a bath in the same water, and, more astonishing yet, that the dishpan was not the usual place to brush one's teeth. Words fail me to tell of the peace and quiet that descended upon us at night when she had returned to the bosom of her own family. Often I wondered if her husband enjoyed the blessed quiet of the day as we did the stillness of the night.

Christmas was to be a gala day for the Christians; a feast was to be served for them in the new foreign house. The Boys' School had prepared an entertainment for the evening, which was considered the social event of the winter, as the head official and his wife were invited, and tickets were in great demand.

Great was Weh Sao-tze's excitement. She had already begun to have more regard for her personal appearance—fewer straws from her rough bed were to be seen sticking to her hair, and her coat was evidently washed at least once a month; but for Christmas she really outshone herself. She embroidered a new hat and gay shoes, washed and starched her coat, and really was an example of what soap and a little—a very little—godliness can do. From that day forward it was an interesting sight to watch a cleansed and brushed Weh Sao-tze with her Bible and hymn-book tied up in a gayly colored handkerchief, and her two boys, also much brushed and washed, beside her on her way to church.

It was her duty to light our bedroom fires before we arose in the morning. It seemed to me I had just fallen asleep on Christmas Eve when I heard a rattle and bang at the stove door and a roaring fire being built. The house was black, with not a sign of dawn, but I had no Chinese words in which to demand an explanation, so I lay still awaiting developments. Soon from the distance I heard the master of the house approaching, and listened to him ordering Weh Sao-tze

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away in no uncertain tones. On inquiry, I found it was only half-past two, but Weh Sao-tze had no clock, and in her zeal had decided that now it must be morning. Three different times did she start in on those fires, until at last, in self-defense, at six o'clock we let her have her way. Do you wonder that some people think that by sheer perseverance the East will conquer the West?

The day passed off with much festivity. The boys outdid themselves as shepherds and Wise Men, the kids they carried in lieu of lambs bleating plaintively the while, giving a touch of realism to the scene. That evening, weary of our part as hosts, we slipped off our best Chinese coats and our formal bows and looked forward to a refreshing sleep. Alas and alack! it was not to be, for our picturesque thatched roof caught fire from a defective stove-pipe, and Christmas night was spent in watching our Lares and Penates ascend in smoke.

Weh Sao-tze performed wonderful feats of valor, picking up treasures of silver and jewelry in fire-menaced rooms and returning them to their rightful owners—a harder strain on her than saving them; moving furniture—the report circulated that she actually carried a bureau from one room to another; and, last but not least, finding the table boy deep in looting the aforesaid bureau, she duly reported him, and he was forthwith dismissed.

For days her star was in the ascendant. The Chinese took pleasure in repeating all the slight symptoms of honesty ever observed in her family, and her praise was in everybody's mouth.

My sister-in-law said to me in triumph, "What if she is awkward, she moved my bureau," and I was forced to reply: "Strength goes further than gracefulness when it comes to moving bureaus. I am glad she has muscle, for I am afraid her manners will always lack the repose that marked the Revere—or was it the De Vere?—family."

Sad to relate, however, towards spring Weh Sao-tze's star began to wane. Mr. Dooley wisely maintains that "a hero should be shot in the act." Rumors of petty thefts came from time to time, but it was her temper that caused her Waterloo. Her disposition and that of the table boy were not compatible—that is using very poetic license. Weh Sao-tze realized her failing and struggled hard, but day by day the battle grew more fierce; her angry voice could be heard over the entire compound and down the street. At length, after giving her about a dozen last chances, the climax came and she was dismissed. She packed her things and stormily withdrew, but as she left she turned to the master of the house and said in a queer, stifled tone:

"Sing Sien Sung, you will always look after my boys, will you not?"

A little puzzled by the sudden change of manner, the master promised and she departed.

Next the table boy had his *congé*, but before he left all the silver had to be counted. According to Chinese custom, he had been put in charge of the dining-room, and if anything were missed he was responsible and had to replace the goods.

Knives, forks, and spoons were carefully gone over, and eight solid silver forks were missing. He asked permission to search the premises, which was granted, and, with the cook and the gateman as witnesses, he started on his quest. First, the compound was gone over, with no result; then the house; but at last, in a stove stored in the attic close to the door of Weh Sao-tze's room, the forks were found.

Who had stolen them will ever be a mystery; the boy may have taken them and put them there to throw suspicion on Weh Sao-tze, or she may have done it to get the boy into trouble, or may have hidden them there in the hope that she herself might some day have a chance to smuggle them out of the house. Even those familiar with involved Chinese reasoning have had to give up this riddle.

The news of the theft and the find spread like wildfire and was soon known throughout the city.

That evening was the first peaceful time in weeks. Only Solomon, who had some experience with women's temper, or any soldier who has been within sound of the incessant firing of big guns, can appreciate what it meant.

About nine o'clock Weh Sao-tze's little boy appeared and asked the doctor to come immediately, as his mother was very ill. The doctor was appalled; he guessed in a moment what it meant: she had taken opium to "save her face" and throw the blame on ourselves or the table boy.

It was a night of terrible suspense. The thought that any human being should come to such a pass through us made us heart-sick.

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Besides which, it was famine year; anti-foreign feeling was always smoldering, ready to leap forth and annihilate us at any moment.

Through the long hours the doctor worked like a Trojan. He found Weh Sao-tze had taken a large dose, though she denied it, and only towards morning did he see signs of hope. By breakfast time he returned, utterly exhausted, leaving Weh Sao-tze enough recovered to be treated by his assistant.

The most amazing thing is yet to be told: for once Chinese opinion was with the foreigner. Usually when a person endeavors to commit suicide the other side is blamed, whether guilty or not, but this time all the street condemned Weh Sao-tze. The Christians shook their heads in horror and said:

"We have never heard of a Christian trying to kill herself before."

Now arose the question how to discipline Weh Sao-tze. The church could not overlook such unseemly conduct on the part of a member, yet the leaders feared that if she was punished, with all the weight of public opinion against her, she might do it again, with a fatal termination. It was finally decided to suspend her from membership for a few months.

At the next communion service a very chastened Weh Sao-tze attended. She could not, of course, take part in the sacrament, but when the congregation bowed their heads for the Lord's Prayer she whispered to her former mistress, who knelt beside her: "Sing Si Sun, may I repeat 'Our Father,' if I say it very, very softly?"

So one more penitent added her voice to the thousands who through the ages have sought forgiveness.

Such was Weh Sao-tze. Surely, she was "ower bad for blessing and ower gude for banning," like Rob Roy.

THE RETAIL MERCHANT

A REPLY TO THE VIEWS OF THEODORE H. PRICE ON THE MAIL ORDER BUSINESS

BY T. W. McALLISTER

BUSINESS has but two main divisions—production and distribution, the making of merchandise and the buying and selling of merchandise. All other ramifications of business are but incidental to these two.

Production is composed of factors which can easily be brought under control; it can be systematized, made the creature of a scientific analysis, subjected to all the rules and precepts of the efficiency manager.

The system of distribution, however, is vastly more complicated. Here enters the human equation. Here enter the problems of overcoming doubts, of establishing confidence, of awakening the desire, of creating a market. We can predetermine the exact time necessary for John Jones to make a cuckoo clock; but who can predetermine the exact amount of money and energy which the advertiser must expend in order to create a market for that clock; how much time the retailer must devote to each customer in selling one? There is an indeterminate amount of friction to be overcome in each transaction. There are as many different problems in distribution as there are types of human nature.

Our present system of distribution through the retail merchant has been evolved during long years of fierce competition. It serves its purpose well. It is to-day more efficient, more necessary, relatively more economical, than it has ever been. A writer versed in the theories of economics, Mr. Theodore H. Price, asserts, however, that this system is too complicated—that it adds an enormous unnecessary item to our cost of living. He gives us exact figures as to the economy of buying through the mail order houses. He assumes that this source of supply could take care of the entire retail business of the Nation as efficiently as our present system and with a wonderful saving to the consumer. He assumes all this while cognizant of the fact that as yet the mail order houses are doing but an infinitesimal fraction of the retail business of the country, that they are supplying a market which has already been created by others, where the goods have already been introduced, doubts overcome, confidence established, and the desire awakened.

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As we read Mr. Price's article on "The Mail Order Business" in The Outlook of January 26, we can scarcely refrain from shedding a tear for the passing middleman; and yet a little reflection convinces us that the article does not arrive at the fundamental truths of the question. The author speaks of the legendary storekeeper who "sanded the sugar and watered the molasses" in the same breath with which he refers to the philanthropic mail order magnate who "has raised shopkeeping to a new distinction and dignity." He asserts that "the business of selling by mail has immensely advanced the ethical standards of trade and the science of commercial distribution in the United States." The author's comparison is unfair.

What are the facts? What conclusions shall we draw as to the value of the jobber, the merchant, the mail order house, in our system of distribution? We want no antiquated arguments. We want no sentimental pleas for the "home merchant." Is there a distributive system which will give the efficient service of our present system at less cost? If so, let it come. We are all looking for the truth. We are all, ultimately, working for that which will help the greatest number.

Mr. Price made some vital errors in his argument for the mail order system. In order to explain these errors I must reproduce his analysis of the selling price necessary for the retail merchant and for the mail order house:

Cost to jobber		$1.00
Net profit to jobber, 5 per cent on cost	.05	
Expenses of jobber, 15 per cent on selling price	.18	.23
Cost to retailer		$1.23
Net profit to retailer, 10 per cent on cost	.12	
Expenses of retailer, 23 per cent on selling price	.40	.52
Retailer's selling price		1.75
Cost to mail order house		$1.00
Net profit to mail order house, 10 per cent on cost	.10	
Expenses of mail order house, 20 per cent on selling price	.27	.37
Mail order selling price		$1.37

In this analysis it is taken for granted that all the goods handled by retail merchants are bought through jobbers. As a matter of fact, in the average town and small city the retailers, excepting the grocerymen, buy fully two-thirds of their goods direct from the manufacturer; while in the larger cities the proportion thus bought would be still greater. For the goods thus bought, then, according to the method of figuring used in this analysis, the merchant's selling price would be $1.42 as compared with the catalogue house price of $1.37. When we take into consideration the goods bought through jobbers, we find that the merchant's average price would compare to the average price of the mail order house in the ratio of $1.53 to $1.37.

The analysis is again incorrect, however, in figuring the retailer's profit as ten per cent of the cost price. This would be an ideal profit, it is true, but it is far from being a real one. Let us consider the case of the merchant whose annual purchases amount to $50,000. He undoubtedly turns his stock three times a year; therefore the average amount of his stock of goods would be $17,000. The capital stock of a store carrying a stock of this amount certainly would not be over $25,000. If this store's profit is ten per cent on the cost of the goods bought, it would mean an annual profit of twenty per cent on the capital stock. Does the average store make a profit of twenty per cent on its capital stock? Far from it. When we consider the number of stores which eventually fail and the number which make little or no profit, we must assert that the profit in this hypothetical case cannot be more than ten per cent of the capital stock, or five per cent of the cost of the goods purchased. It is true that many stores make a greater profit than this; but in most cases they make it by reducing their percentage of expense or by turning their stock of goods oftener.

When we again refigure the selling prices, after taking these facts into consideration, we find that the retailer's price compares to the catalogue house price in the ratio of $1.48 to $1.37. These figures are estimated, of course. They are, however, as fair and as careful estimates as it is possible to give without going into a detailed and exhaustive investigation. These figures should be nough to convince any fair-minded person that there is, after all, but a small variance between the catalogue house selling price and the merchant's selling price. It must be admitted that with a number of articles which the mail order houses use as "lead-

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ers" there is much more difference than this ratio shows; but the average difference is small.

"But why should there be any difference?" you ask; "why should I pay the merchant more than I would have to pay elsewhere?"

Aside from those exceptional cases where style is considered a factor in the value of goods, the difference between the cost of raw materials and the final selling price of all commodities is entirely expended for labor. Therefore the extra price which you may pay to the home merchant doesn't disappear, it doesn't vanish into thin air; it simply brings you more service.

The question, then, finally resolves itself into this form: "Is the extra service which the retailer gives worth the little extra price which he necessarily must exact for such service?"

It always has been—and probably always will be—human nature for people to prefer to see the goods before they pay for them. Furthermore, they generally want the goods on the day that they happen to think of them and not a week or two or three weeks later. When our catalogue house tire blows out at a most inopportune time, it is annoying to have to send to Chicago for a new one. When we ruin our last pair of trousers on the garden fence, we would gladly pay our local dealer a few cents extra rather than wait for the mail order house to supply us with a new pair.

There are constant changes and improvements in all lines of merchandise. The retail merchant gives his extra service in introducing and demonstrating these new or improved articles. This service could not well be performed by the mail order house. The modern home would be without many of the comforts and conveniences which it now enjoys if some far-distant mail order house alone had supplied its wants. The modern farmer might still be using a cradle to harvest his grain if he had, in the past, depended on a catalogue house for his intimate knowledge of the improvements in farm machinery.

The great manufacturers, the National advertisers, who produce the articles in which the people have confidence, which they want and demand, have long recognized these facts. With few exceptions they steadfastly refuse to sell through the mail order houses, and market their wares only through the retail merchant. They recognize the fact that the service which the merchant gives is well worth the price which he must exact for such service.

A certain young farmer needed a rifle for immediate use in butchering. He walked into a retail hardware store, selected one that suited him, then inquired of the merchant: "Will you meet X. Y. & Co.'s price on this gun?"

"Certainly we will," was the reply. "We'll meet any mail order price if we're given the opportunity."

"I'll take this rifle, then," the young man said. "Just charge it for a few weeks."

"Hold on," exclaimed the merchant. "If you buy that rifle at a mail order price, you'll buy it on mail order terms. Put it back in the case and I'll order one for you."

He then insisted that the customer should pay the price of the gun before the order was made out, and that, in addition, he should pay for a stamp, a money-order, and the parcels post charges. The young man finally agreed to this, and at the end of ten days he received the rifle. He had paid almost the regular retail price for the gun. He should have paid the full retail price, for he received a service which the mail order house could not grant him. He had the privilege of handling the gun and deciding from a personal inspection, before the order was sent in, whether it was satisfactory.

This actual incident illustrates better than reams of theoretical arguments the relative advantages offered by the mail order system and the system of distribution through the retail merchant.

The vision of a rural population entirely dependent upon far-distant mail order houses is rather a cheerless one. It is difficult to conceive what would fill the void left by country town and city store. It is idle, however, to speculate upon such a dream, for it is as impossible of fulfillment as many another chimera evolved from a utopian fancy.

The head of a vast advertising service, one of the Nation's great authorities on merchandising, recently stated that the mail order houses would never do a larger percentage of the business of the country than they are now doing. They might continue to grow, he asserted, but they would grow only in the proportion that business as a whole expanded.

The mail order houses will always draw the trade of a certain bargain-seeking proportion of our people; and they will fill a void in the system of distribution by supplying

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certain outlying districts which are not supplied by retail stores. They may perform a real economic service by prodding along certain slothful rural merchants and awakening them to the fact that they must sell goods at a reasonable price and render the full service which should be a condition of that price.

There have been many somnambulant merchants in the past, but they are awaking. If there is any line of merchandise in which they cannot successfully compete with the mail order houses, they are demanding, and are receiving, a price which will permit of such competition. The weak links in the chain of distribution are being eliminated. There are too many traveling men; their ranks will be reduced. There are too many retail stores; some will drop out of the race, while others will combine to give better service at a lesser price.

The successful merchant of to-day is wide awake during every working hour. He constantly scans the markets for improved goods and new lines of merchandise. He advertises unceasingly. He does not permit the public to pass him by. He hides no goods in dark corners. He permits no dust to gather on his wares.

The efficient merchant of to-day has laid out his business on scientific lines. He knows what each department of his business costs and what it is worth. His profits are reasonable, and there is no guesswork about what these profits should be. He constantly endeavors to give the public more and better service.

The successful merchant of to-day is in an absolutely necessary class. This class, like most others, has no room for shirkers or drones; but for the man who is willing to work and plan and keep himself fit, both physically and mentally, it offers a "place in the sun" more brilliant than it could ever have offered in the past.

THE OUTLOOK'S VIEWS

We print the foregoing article by Mr. McAllister because it fairly represents a number of criticisms we have received of Mr. Price's paper on "The Mail Order Business."

Mr. Price's critics seem to assume that he was attacking the retail merchant in the village and small town. But a careful reading of his article does not bear out this assumption. His main contention was that the mail order business is a comparatively new merchandising invention that efficiently supplies a genuine economic need in American life. This Mr. McAllister admits, just as Mr. Price would, we believe, admit the truth of Mr. McAllister's claim that the small retail merchant "is in an absolutely necessary class." Mr. McAllister justly recognizes that the great mail order houses are performing an educational service by "prodding along certain slothful rural merchants and awakening them to the fact that they must sell goods at a reasonable price and render full service."

We wish to point out two other respects in which the mail order houses are serving the interests of the retail merchant.

First, they are developing the cash-paying habit in the customer, and it would be a boon to the retail merchant if he could get rid of the burden of carrying his long-deferred non-interest-bearing accounts. Mr. McAllister is himself a hardware merchant in a small Ohio town. His entertaining anecdote of the young farmer and the rifle shows that he fully appreciates the difficulties which the local merchant has to contend with in selling to the retail customer on long-time credit. Many a local merchant can join heartily with old Omar Khayyám in singing:

"Ah, take the Cash, and let the Credit go!"

If the mail order houses are doing anything to increase the cash-payment habit of mind, they are performing an economic service, not merely to the consumer, but to the retail merchant as well.

Second, the mail order houses are real "feeders" of the business of the rural merchant. The Century Dictionary defines "feeder" in this sense as: "One who furnishes incentives; an encourager."

It is a well-known principle of commerce that well-satisfied wants beget new ones. A man may go a whole winter in perfect comfort with a shabby hat and overcoat, but if his wife persuades him to buy a new hat he soon begins to feel uncomfortable about the shabbiness of his coat, and finally ends the matter by getting a new one. The hatter has thus "fed" the business of the tailor. This principle is well illustrated by the homely old story of the thrifty Yankee spinster who bought a new pair of andirons for her parlor, then felt she must have a new hearth-rug to match the andirons, then a new carpet to match the rug, then a new sofa to match the carpet, then new wall-paper to match the sofa,

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then new window curtains to match the wall-paper, and finally discovered, to her surprise, that she had entirely refurnished her room!

The housewife buys a new floor-covering from the mail order house, but she buys the broom and dust-pan to keep it clean from the local merchant. She buys a new wrap from a city catalogue, but she must get the ribbons and feathers to retrim her hat to suit the wrap from the local milliner. The young farmer buys his rifle by mail, but he gets his ammunition from the local store.

The steam railways fought the trolleys until they learned that the trolleys were actually "feeders" of the railways. The regular savings banks fought the postal savings bank plan until they perceived that in actual practice the postal banks increased or "fed" the regular savings deposits.

Both philosophy and practice teach that the retail merchant ought not to antagonize the mail order houses. Let him adopt their principle of prompt and efficient service, their reasonable prices for cash, and he will find his own business growing even among mail order patrons. When he hears of mail order goods coming into his own town, he may reasonably encourage himself by saying: "No wraps, no ribbons; no rugs, no dustpans; no rifles, no ammunition."—THE EDITORS.

WHAT A FRENCHMAN THINKS OF THE WAR[1]

FRANCE is Roman Catholic, both in numbers and spirit. Yet no Roman Catholic, we believe, could celebrate more truthfully than has M. Paul Sabatier, a Protestant, the virtues of Roman Catholics. Certainly no one has done more than has he to establish the fame of the man who has been called the greatest Christian since Christ, namely, St. Francis of Assisi. M. Sabatier is thus held in high esteem by Roman Catholic as well as by Protestant liberals.

Such an eminence fits him for his rôle during the present war—to point out its spiritual significance. In fulfilling this duty M. Sabatier has been prominent in two directions.

First, as an honorary citizen of the town of Assisi, he addressed public letters to his fellow-citizens there. In these letters he called attention to the spiritual union now binding France and Italy. As he says, it is not chance which has brought them together, but a moral cohesion inspired both by mind and heart. He grows enthusiastic over their common idealism which opposes materialism. Nevertheless, he warns them that the rout of Prussian militarism is only a point of departure. Underneath that militarism, he affirms, there lies moral error, the sort of thing which led to the blindness of the signers of the German professorial manifesto. This error, he contends, menaces not only Germans, but all peoples. Hence, the ultimate mission of the French and the Italians is to defeat the Germans, but especially to defeat moral error, whether it shows itself in Germany and Austria or in France and Italy.

Secondly, M. Sabatier turned his attention to England. He went to London and delivered lectures at Bedford College which attracted much attention. They have now been published in book form. To a considerable degree they seem an amplification of the letters addressed to Italy.

In this volume M. Sabatier shows how his neighbors in the Cévennes Mountains regarded the French agreement with England, and then what they thought of the entry of Italy into the war. Next, he deals with what to us is more interesting—the spiritual revolution in France. Finally, he devotes a chapter to Alsace, a country which he knows well because of long residence there, for he was once a pastor at Strassburg. He resigned his cure rather than become a German citizen. He then took up historical work. It resulted in the publication of his "St. Francis," which has been translated into about every European language. While neither in matter nor manner will the present volume quite take its place on the same shelf with the "Life," it is well worth attention from those who would dip beneath the surface of happenings.

M. Sabatier asserts that the war now in progress is a revolt of the human conscience against what he calls "Germanism."

> I say the human conscience; not the conscience of this or that people, for in course of time, not among the Allies only, but throughout the whole world, every conscience which has not abdicated its rights, every conscience which is

[1] A Frenchman's Thoughts on the War. By Paul Sabatier. Translated by Bernard Miall. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.25.

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not the prisoner of material interests, or of prejudices which we will not examine, will be on our side.

We may be calm and patient. If Germany could only discern the spiritual factors in the lives of other peoples, she would perceive the immense wave of indignation which is rising against her in certain countries which are politically neutral, but as determined as ourselves to become the implacable enemies of Germanism. . . .

Germanism is a perfectly coherent system in which the words religion, science, and the ideal do not disappear, but become, as it were, labels applied by bureaucratic officials to various departments of the Imperial administration which is to rule and organize the world. . . .

We were slow to understand, but now we have seen. We know that Germanism, like those subtle poisons which penetrate all the tissues of the body, an intellectual error in the first place, progressively distorts the senses of those attainted by it, making them the frantic and perhaps irresponsible propagandists of what we are really forced to call a counter-morality and an anti-civilization.

No wonder, then, that we read elsewhere in the book:

The unloosing of this war . . . produced a reaction in the mind of the French people, and almost as immediately in the minds of the other peoples, which was the direct opposite of the effect which our enemies had expected and relied on. The consciences of the world were mobilized against Germany.

So much for the general anti-German, or rather anti-Prussian, feeling. Now for one special effect of the war in bringing about a new religious union and a new religious revival in France. With customary judicial-mindedness, M. Sabatier gives us both sides of the picture. He reports the observations of some that the French population is, in general, still indifferent in the matter of religion, although faithful to a few external rites, particularly in all that concerns burial. On the other hand, he reports that all the soldiers are now saluting all the priests, that both officers and men are beginning to attend mass regularly, and that many of these officers and men are showing proofs of an exalted devotion. The salute accorded to the priests by the soldiers is not without significance, comments this writer; it means that many men, having hitherto seen in the priest's cassock or the monk's robe merely the uniform of those who have surrendered their own intelligence into the hands of an ecclesiastical hierarchy, have now found themselves in the trenches or on the battlefield side by side with priests or monks, and have come to understand that the cassock and the serge robe are, above all, the sign that those who wear them are engaged in a special manner in the service of others. Thus the salute means an effort to correct and obliterate the precipitant conclusions formed of old.

Although France is overwhelmingly Roman Catholic, there are those who ask what particular Church will most profit by this new era. Our author replies: "It will profit all the churches, for in drawing nearer that ideal toward which, by divers paths, we seek to climb, we draw nearer to one another."

M. Sabatier would have us recognize that the word religion means something big and broad; that it means, first, an ideal above the present reality; second, a movement of our whole being towards that ideal; and, third, the act of faith by which we feel capable of attaining the ideal. If this definition be exact, religion is, indeed, as M. Sabatier affirms, "anticipation," "activity at its fullest," "conscious progress," "liberty," "love," "creation."

We should never conclude that the war has not evoked any spiritual movement. Let us not make the error of confounding religion with the Church or the Church with its clergy, this author reminds us, and not without a touch of humor. He proceeds:

In reality, France has just experienced one of the most powerful religious movements known to history. . . .

The manner in which the people of France accepted her decision . . . amounted to the collective accomplishment of a religious act. . . . And this is what gives to our national hymns, when they break forth on the battlefield, a beauty and a wealth of meaning which we never knew was theirs. They express our love of our native soil, but, above all, they sing the ideal truths which we had too long forgotten, the joy of sacrifice for others, the joy of giving one's life for the truth, the joy of making death a source of life.

This explains the phenomenon which has astonished many foreigners traveling in France. Of it M. Sabatier relates the following incident:

"I do not think your country is sufficiently depressed," a Swiss friend told me some weeks ago.

"Do you find that it is frivolous, or indifferent, or too much concerned with its pleasures?" I asked him.

"No," he replied; "but in the streets and public places, despite the number of women in

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mourning, there is not the affliction which I expected and wished to see. One does not feel that the public is bowing its head before the hand that is chastising it."

M. Sabatier's conclusion of the whole matter is that, though unspeakable sorrows have come with the war, there is also an immense cause for joy.

Suddenly, irresistibly, it brought us to a standstill, and, wresting us from all our egoistical cares, our daily anxieties, our trivial pleasures, our pitiful discussions, it set before us duties, responsibilities, and sacrifices such as no generation of the past was ever confronted with . . . France understood its meaning, and individual sorrows were swallowed up in the joy of the nation, that it was once again in her power to do great things, to resume her historic mission, to affirm her ideal.

Hence the basis of this war is spiritual; as this author says, it is an effort to defend the ideal tendencies of civilization.

This character of the war was fitly symbolized, as M. Sabatier points out, by a recent cartoon in "Punch," in which the King of the Belgians is shown in a ruined house in the midst of a landscape which revealed nothing but devastation. Before him William II suddenly appears and asks: "Then you have lost everything?" "Yes, I have lost everything," the King replied, "but I have saved my soul."

"All the war is in that," exclaims M. Sabatier. And as for France, "even though the ruins be heaped upon our soil as on the soil of Belgium, we shall remain proud and victorious. We also shall save our soul."

THE READER'S VIEW

ALICE FREEMAN PALMER

[The following letter has been called out by Dr. Abbott's "Knoll Paper" relating to Mrs. Palmer in The Outlook for January 12 last. — THE EDITORS.]

You may be interested in a characteristic anecdote of Miss Freeman which, so far as I know, has never been told in print. As a "teacher-special," boarding at Dana Hall, in the village, I enjoyed opportunities not given to the students on the campus, and so was able to remain in Boston on Monday nights for evening lectures. One night, while waiting for a late train in the Boston and Albany station, Miss Freeman came in, and in the conversation that followed told me of her evening's experience. "Some time ago," she said, "I was invited to attend a dinner given to-night to Mr. William Dean Howells, who is about to sail for Europe. I was asked to bring an original poem, if possible, but told to come, anyway. So of course I went, without the poem, and with no thought of being called upon to speak.

"After the dinner there came that ominous thud upon the table, and various guests were called upon for after-dinner efforts. Several had spoken, or read, when I was asked to speak 'in behalf of Wellesley College.' Referring to the form of the invitation I had received, I said that, while I had not expected to speak, I could not decline to represent the College, the more as there was one matter of vital interest to the young women of the College that I wanted to bring to the attention of Mr. Howells. In behalf of the students of Wellesley, who were interested readers of Mr. Howells's books, I ventured to express the hope that while he was abroad he would find some young men worth falling in love with.

"The moment I sat down," she continued, "I realized what a dreadful thing I had done. All the previous speakers, in one way or another, had eulogized Mr. Howells. I had done just the opposite, and any apology would only make things worse. Moreover, the criticism which I had applied was absolutely just."

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PROHIBITION IN KANSAS

The article in The Outlook for January 19 by Governor Capper, of Kansas, is an illustration of the folly of using statistics to prove that because certain conditions obtain in a given area, something or other is the cause of these conditions. This kind of argument has generally disappeared except in connection with the agitation for prohibitory laws, where we find the same old array of figures that may prove anything or nothing.

Governor Capper claims that the low death rate in Kansas is due to prohibition. Montana, a wet State, has a lower death rate than Kansas It would be dishonest to claim that liquor-drinking causes the low rate in Montana, yet there are the statistics to prove it. Maine has had prohibition for sixty years. The death rate in Maine is fifty per cent higher than in Montana. Therefore prohibition is responsible for the high death rate in Maine! Logic is logic.

Another instance of juggling with figures that prove nothing is found in the assertion that "the question of pauperism furnishes one of the

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most amazing arguments for prohibition." It certainly does, but not in the way the well-meaning Governor intended. Dry Kansas has 43.5 paupers in almshouses per 100,000 population. Wet Louisiana has only 11.3 paupers per 100,000. Therefore prohibition is the reason why the rate of pauperism in Kansas is nearly three hundred per cent higher than in Louisiana!

In reply to the United States Census figures showing that Kansas has a higher rate of insanity than twenty-four other States, Governor Capper says that if Kansas is compared with six other States in the West North Central Division, it will be found that the insanity rate is lower than in three of them. This is true, but what does it prove? And why have wet Nebraska and South Dakota lower rates of insanity than dry Kansas?

The attempt to show that prohibition decreases crime is equally futile. Dry Kansas has 85.4 State prisoners per 100,000 population. Wet Nebraska has only 55.2 per cent. The two States are much alike in climate, industrial conditions, and character of population. If prohibition is the reason why Kansas has a lower percentage of prisoners than Missouri, is liquor-drinking the cause of the still lower percentage in Nebraska?

I do not claim that the use of liquor decreases crime in Nebraska, insanity in South Dakota, or pauperism in Louisiana. What I do assert is that there are other factors that must be taken into consideration.

Space will not permit of an exposure of all the fallacies in Governor Capper's article, but I trust that you will allow me to point out the misleading character of his attempt to show the relative prosperity of Kansas (due of course to the wonder-worker, prohibition) by the statement that "Kansas is the richest State in the Union on the basis of per capita assessed valuation." This is true as to "assessed" valuation; but if the United States Census Bureau estimates of the true value of all property by States are taken, it is found that eight States, seven of them wet previous to the first of this year, have a higher valuation than Kansas.

New York City. WHIDDEN GRAHAM.

"UNCLE SAM—TRAPPER"

There is another point of view of "Uncle Sam—Trapper" which ought to be set over against the one you give in your editorial of January 26. Uncle Sam did not have any sealskins to offer at the St. Louis sale. He should have had at least twelve thousand and they should have brought about sixty dollars each—three-quarters of a million dollars. They are going to waste like unshorn fleeces on the back of sheep, with this difference—that a sheep will grow another fleece, whereas the fur of the bachelor seal becomes shabby and valueless for all time if not taken in the right season.

This is not the first time that Uncle Sam has failed to have sealskins to sell. The same thing occurred in 1914, in 1913, and in 1912, and apparently will continue to occur in 1916 and 1917. Then for nine further years Uncle Sam will waste a quarter of a million dollars' worth of sealskins each year, always supposing, of course, that he does not wake up in the meantime and have the Fur Seal Law of August 24, 1912, repealed or amended.

You suggest that Uncle Sam is engaged in guarding the fur seals, sea otters, etc., under the international agreement of 1911. This agreement with Japan and Canada stopped pelagic sealing—the indiscriminate hunting of the seals at sea—for fifteen years, and Uncle Sam solemnly agreed to give fifteen per cent of his land catch to each of these neighbors. Then he let Congress pass a law cutting off the land catch he had promised to share. Without reference to the heavy financial loss which this entails, it is a flagrant violation of our obligations under a treaty which Uncle Sam struggled fourteen years to secure, and which is necessary to the life of his fur seal herd.

Reference is also made to the blue foxes, and the price of $114 each is commented upon. In 1912 blue fox skins sold as high as $158 each. But here again Uncle Sam had few to sell. The blue foxes of the Pribilof Islands depend for winter food on the seal carcasses. The law cuts these off, and no dried fish or whale meat has been brought in to take their place. The foxes are cannibalistic under shortage of food. The old are eating the young, the strong the weak, in the warrens of the Pribilof Islands this winter, and, instead of having a thousand fox pelts to sell at $100,000 or more, "Uncle Sam—Trapper" had, perhaps, a few score. He will have practically no foxes left if the law completes its course.

As a matter of fact, Uncle Sam does not shine just now as a trapper. On the contrary, he is something of a joke in this line.

Stanford University, California. G. A. CLARK.

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BY THE WAY

Skilled labor commands a high price in Panama, if this advertisement in a New York paper is a criterion:

Ship-fitters wanted for Panama Canal; must also be experienced as boiler-makers; wages 65c. hour, with free steamship transportation from New York; wages beginning on date of sailing.

Among recent changes in English periodicals, the discontinuance of the American edition of the "Strand Magazine" is announced, difficulties in transportation owing to the war being given as a reason; and the London "Athenæum" is to be issued as a monthly instead of a weekly.

A conductor's "transfer" machine has been invented. The conductor presses a foot lever and a printed transfer falls into the passenger's hand. It registers the date, hour, locality, conductor's number, and the line transferred to, all printed from blank paper at one stroke of the pedal. From sixty to seventy transfers a minute can be issued from the machine.

Children who fail to find joy in pianoforte lessons should ask their parents to read "Music for Children," by Thomas W. Surette, in the "Atlantic" for March. Mr. Surette answers the question, "How can children be taught music itself?" thus: "First by singing beautiful songs to train the ear and awaken the taste, second by learning how to listen intelligently, and third (if qualified to do so) by learning to play good music on some instrument."

A remarkable case of filial devotion is that of a man who has recently made good a deficit in his father's accounts as treasurer of St. John, New Brunswick. The shortage was discovered nearly thirty years ago, after the treasurer's death. The son, who has been a trusted employee of a life insurance company in New York City for many years, has now cleared his father's memory by sending the sum of $10,000 to the municipality.

"Robert F. Paine, Chief Editorial Writer of the N. E. A." This cryptic caption in "Everybody's Magazine" is perhaps meant to arouse curiosity. It is in line with the remarkable new make-up of the magazine—running headlines at the bottom of the page, side notes to interpret the text, a reading line twice the usual length, with a picture, an ornament, or an initial on every page of its contents. The new "Everybody's" is calculated to make the old-fashioned reader ask, "What next?"

A friend informs us that the pleasant sentiment printed on the writing paper of a New England hotel and quoted in part on this page February 16, was not written, as was supposed, by "a New England man," but by a woman, Marguerite Bigelow, and that it was originally printed in the "Craftsman" magazine. First written "For the Guest Room in a Simple House," its use by a hotel proprietor was significant of an appreciation that deserved special mention.

A manufacturer of printing inks gives in the "American Printer" some reasons why the prices of his products have gone up, and incidentally says that perhaps there is some "artificial inflation of prices." Two things he cannot understand, he says: why lamp and carbon blacks, which are produced in this country very largely, should have been advanced 300 per cent on January first; and why chloride of lime should have advanced in price from 1½ cents to 17 cents a pound!

Victor Murdock, writing from London in "Collier's," tells a story about the Zeppelin raids. A householder, whose family had tumbled out of bed and rushed to the windows on the first appearance of a Zeppelin, lectured them on their dishabille and desired them all to dress carefully if the raiders came again. They came; the family dressed completely and joined the father at the window; he complimented them on their composure and asked them if this were not the better way. "Certainly," was his wife's response, "but I think you ought to go and put on your trousers."

The date of Washington's birthday was, according to the calendar at the time of his birth, February 11. This became February 22 when the Gregorian calendar was adopted in 1752. The first place to use the new date in celebrating the event is said to have been Newport, Rhode Island. As late as 1788 Washington himself apparently used the old style in referring to his birthday. His diary for that year has this entry: "February 11 went up to Alexandria to the celebration of my birthday. Many maneuvers were performed by uniform corps, and an elegant ball and supper at night."

The late Dr. David Allyn Gorton, who was for many years editor of the "National Quarterly Review" and the "Medical Times," was, like Napoleon and Edison, capable of doing much work on little sleep. Four hours' sleep a day, between 2 and 6 A.M., it is stated, was his usual allowance even up to the advanced age—eighty-three—at which he died.

"Why do we say 'Good-evening' when a visitor calls, and 'Good-night' when he goes?" asks Mary in "Harper's Magazine." "Force of habit, I presume," answers Earl; "evening and night are synonymous terms." "Well," is the conclusive rejoinder, "they may be synonymous, but I guess you would rather have the society column report say that I appeared clad in a tasteful evening gown instead of saying I was clad in a tasteful nightgown."

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